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## EDITORIAL

It is the continuous desire of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* to present articles of varying interest. This number of the *Quarterly* gives a glance into three phases of Alabama history from the Jacksonian period of the 1820's through the Civil War of the 1860's.

The article on the migration trends of Alabama's population for 1850 and 1860 is interesting in that it gives the statistics of both the inflow and outflow of the population within the United States.—*Editor*



## JOHN McKINLEY: JACKSONIAN PHASE

*by John M. Martin*

Born in Virginia and reared in Kentucky, John McKinley moved to Alabama in 1818 where he practiced law, engaged in a variety of business ventures and held several political offices. Narrowly defeated by William Kelly for a seat in the United States Senate in 1822, he ran again in 1826 for the seat made vacant by the death of Henry Chambers and the resignation of his successor, Israel Pickens, because of illness.<sup>1</sup> Although McKinley had been supported by the "Georgia faction" in 1822 and had supported Henry Clay for the Presidency in 1824, he now professed himself to be a supporter of Andrew Jackson and sought to persuade others in northwest Alabama to withdraw from the race and support him in an expected contest with Clement Comer Clay. If a concert were not made among Jackson's friends, he warned, "all would be left to chance." Jacksonians, meanwhile, sought assurance that McKinley had indeed been converted to their cause. Pointing out that McKinley had supported Clay in 1824 and had defended his policies only six or eight months before, a correspondent wrote John Coffee in October that he had little faith in "new converts" and that McKinley had waited longer than he should have in disapproving the course of the Adams administration.<sup>2</sup>

About the same time, when a public letter appeared in the Huntsville *Democrat* asking him to state his views about certain questions, McKinley took advantage of the request to address a long letter to the people of Alabama explaining his recantation. Every representative, he said, was bound "to obey the will of his constituents upon all matters of policy, and to obtain a knowledge of that will by every means in his power." He favored "pure Jeffersonian principles," as opposed to those of the elder Adams. In 1824 he had supported Clay in preference to Jackson, but, knowing the present feeling of the people of Alabama, he could not now support him. If elected to the

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<sup>1</sup>*Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 volumes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1936), XII, 104-105.

<sup>2</sup>McKinley to John Coffee, September 12, 1826; Jonas C. Bell to John Coffee, October 4, 1826, John Coffee Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, hereinafter cited as Coffee Papers.

Senate, he would give Jackson his "decided support" in preference to either Clay or Adams; however, he would not oppose the administration purely for the sake of obstruction. Should the Panama proposal be presented again, he would consider it on its merits. He favored a constitutional amendment to prevent the House of Representatives from electing a President and preferred a direct popular vote if a means could be devised to keep the South from losing its power based on slaves. He favored graduation of the price of public lands and internal improvements and would exert himself "to obtain such an appropriation of public money" as would "improve the navigation of the state, and particularly of the Muscle Shoals." He denied the charge that he had represented the Georgia or Royal party in the race against Kelly in 1822 and maintained that he had been aloof from state politics between 1822 and 1825. And, although he admitted he had been legal representative of the Huntsville Bank, he denied that he had agreed with all provisions of the law creating it or with some of the high-handed practices of which it had been guilty. McKinley's letter won support in some quarters but embittered some of his former friends.<sup>3</sup> The *Democrat*, which claimed to be the tribune of the people, found McKinley acceptable now that he had given his "express and unequivocal negative" to the support of John II, but others questioned whether he had been fully converted from his former faith.<sup>4</sup>

McKinley faced two principal rivals in the Alabama legislature, Clement C. Clay and Nicholas Davis. To counteract McKinley's avowal of Jackson and win over Davis followers, Clay supporters announced shortly before the vote was to be taken that he was for Jackson, but that he was against "factious opposition" to the general government. Subsequently, following the withdrawal of Davis from the race, many votes from the Tennessee Valley were thrown to Clay. Despite this shift, however, McKinley was elected by a vote of 41-38. As a result of the realignment, some of McKinley's supporters in 1822 voted against him, and some who had opposed him now

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<sup>3</sup>John McKinley to Mentor, October 10, 1826, published in *Democrat* (Huntsville), October 27, 1826, hereinafter cited as *Democrat*.

<sup>4</sup>*Democrat*, December 1, 1826; *Southern Advocate* (Huntsville), December 15, 1826, hereinafter cited as *Southern Advocate*.

voted for him. Later, each side made charges and counter-charges against the other. McKinley supporters spoke of secret schemes, charged that McKinley men had been coerced into voting against him for purely partisan reasons and called the opposition a party of "*men, not principles.*" Following McKinley's October letter, they maintained, he had been marked for destruction by the Royalist Party. Clay followers, on the other hand, pointed to McKinley's late conversion to Jacksonianism and charged that he had been able to win only because of heavy support from the Adams faction in the legislature. Both Clay and McKinley, in fact, had supported Henry Clay in 1824; both were able men, and both served faithfully as Jacksonians in Congress.<sup>5</sup>

As a new member, McKinley participated little in debates during the short and relatively quiet Second Session of the Nineteenth Congress. Seeking to protect the interests of many Alabamians, however, he took a keen interest in legislation related to public lands and spoke out against land speculators and in favor of land purchasers who had had to relinquish public lands. These settlers, he argued, had improved the country. If misfortune caused them to have to give up part of their land purchased at high prices, it would not be just or generous to refuse them the right of repurchase on generous terms.<sup>6</sup> Speaking during debates on a Bankrupt Bill, McKinley took the occasion to defend the interests of the agricultural population and to attack the Supreme Court for "judicial legislation" in the case of *Sturges vs. Crowninshield*. "Such appears to be the political bias of a majority of that Court, and the great authority of its decisions upon constitutional law," he said, "that the powers of the Federal Government are, by mere construction, made to overshadow State powers, and render them almost contemptible." The reasoning of the court to the contrary, the constitution empowered Congress to pass bankruptcy laws and left the passage of insolvency laws to the state legislatures. Although he conceded that merchants and

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<sup>5</sup>*Democrat*, December 8, 29, 1826, January 19, July 20, 1827; *Southern Advocate*, December 8, 15, 1826.

<sup>6</sup>McKinley to Editor, undated, *Democrat*, January 19, 1827; *Register of Debates in Congress*, Nineteenth Congress, Second Session, 309, hereinafter cited as *Register of Debates*.

traders had special problems, he maintained that a bankruptcy law ought to be extended to all people within the United States without regard to occupation, thus giving equal justice and equal privileges to all. He objected also to a proposal to give creditors in the amount of \$500 the privilege of initiating petitions for bankruptcy proceedings against debtors. Such a provision could do much harm to the agricultural part of the community, for, if a farmer could not adhere to strict "mercantile punctuality," a creditor would have power to bring down upon him all his creditors. Thus he could be forced into insolvency even though he might be capable of paying his debts from the proceeds of his farming enterprise if alone.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, the debate continued concerning McKinley's conversion to the Jackson cause. William R. King wrote Israel Pickens in February, 1827, that he had at first been surprised at the selection of McKinley but that his course in Washington had been well "calculated to promote the interest of the south and the prosperity of our State in particular." A correspondent quoted in the *Democrat* wrote that McKinley was as good a Jackson man as there was in the Senate and that Henry Clay had "no possible influence on him." Another wrote that even some of those who had opposed McKinley in 1826 were now convinced of his dependability. His opponents, however, continued to publicize his past attitudes, his views on the Panama Mission and his earlier ties with Clay.<sup>8</sup>

During the First Session of the Twentieth Congress, presidential politics was much upon McKinley's mind. He wrote John Coffee in January, 1828, that the question was receiving great attention in Washington. It was obvious, he felt, that every move added to Jackson's strength. He wrote another correspondent in February that Jackson was gaining ground despite the imprudence of his supporters. "The people will elect him,"

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<sup>7</sup>*Register of Debates*, Nineteenth Congress, Second Session, 142-144.

<sup>8</sup>King to Pickens, February 10, 1827, Israel Pickens Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery; *Democrat*, January 18, March 9, March 23, July 20, 1827.



he declared, "without the aid of those who think themselves entitled to credit."<sup>9</sup>

Early in the session, McKinley introduced a bill calling for the cession of public lands to the state of Alabama for the improvement of rivers within the state. The measure, he felt, would bring special benefits to the Tennessee Valley and would help the entire state to some extent.<sup>10</sup> Defending the bill, he pointed out that the United States was the great landholder in the West. If any landholder wished to enhance the value of his lands, he could do so by the improvement of roads and waterways. It followed that the United States as a whole would gain from the improvement of navigation near its public lands.<sup>11</sup> As eventually passed, the act granted 400,000 acres of land to the state for the purpose of improving navigation at Muscle Shoals and on other rivers if there was a surplus. At a subsequent public dinner in Florence, McKinley pointed out that, in addition to improving navigation, the project would involve a considerable expenditure of money, the employment of thousands of workers, the use of provisions and the enhancement of land values. With cotton prices depressed, it opened new sources of agricultural profit; planters, he suggested, should plan their production accordingly.<sup>12</sup>

Prior to his return to Alabama, McKinley personally consulted with the President and received assurances that surveys would be made immediately so that work could begin the following spring. In a conference with the Commissioner of Public Lands, he sought as much freedom as possible for the State of Alabama in the selection of land. After his return to the state, McKinley conveyed to the President suggestions made to him concerning the location of the canal, asked that a civil engineer be employed to assist the military engineers, and reiterated that the state "ought to have the right" of selecting

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<sup>9</sup>McKinley to John Coffee, January 23, 1828, Coffee Papers; McKinley to John Wesley Hunt, February 8, 1828, quoted in James Hicks, "Associate Justice John McKinley: a Sketch," *Alabama Review*, XVIII (July, 1965), 229, hereinafter cited as Hicks, "McKinley."

<sup>10</sup>McKinley to Editor, January 19, 1828, *Democrat*, February 15, 1828.

<sup>11</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twentieth Congress, First Session, 457-458.

<sup>12</sup>*Southern Advocate*, July 18, 1828.

the land donated in the act. He later disagreed, in public and in private, with actions taken by the Alabama legislature regarding the disposal of the land, especially its plan to have lands evaluated by commissioners and sold on credit to settlers. Although he generally sympathized with the prospective landowner, he had reservations concerning the commissioners and objected to the loss of revenue by the state resulting from their evaluations.<sup>13</sup>

McKinley, in 1828, spoke at length on a bill calling for the graduation of land prices in the territories and the cession of all public lands to the states in which they lay. In a carefully reasoned argument, he sought to prove that the national government had no constitutional right to keep public lands within states. At the time of the Revolution, the original states had succeeded to all the rights of crown lands and had ceded these lands with the understanding that they would be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States and formed into republican states. In denying the public lands and the right to tax them to new states, the national government was denying them some of the rights of sovereignty held by the older states.

Actually, he declared, the creation of a new state implied "a transfer of the whole title to the land and right of domain of the United States to the new States." The constitution gave the national government only certain powers, and the states, fearing the creation of a consolidated government by a liberal construction of the document, had added the Tenth Amendment specifically protecting the rights of the states and the people. With certain exceptions, the national government did not have the right to hold public lands or to deny the states the right to tax them. It could control the seat of the national government and land acquired for forts, arsenals, dockyards, customs houses, courthouses and the like, but no other lands. He argued further that the power to admit new states did not confer on Congress the power to annex conditions on new states at the

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<sup>13</sup>McKinley to Editor, May 26, 1828, *Democrat*, June 27, 1828; McKinley to Editor, November 6, 1828, *Southern Advocate*, November 7, 1828; McKinley to General Assembly of Alabama, November 19, 1830, quoted in *Southern Advocate*, December 11, 1830.



time they sought admission and that the constitution specifically prohibited states from entering into most compacts. Thus, Congress had acted illegally in requiring new states to consent to give up their public lands through what amounted to a compact. Neither Congress nor the prospective state could legally make such an agreement. If the United States government, by legislation, treaty or compact, could acquire sovereign rights not granted by the constitution, liberty and free government could not be preserved by a written constitution. By compacts the new states had been reduced to a state of vassalage, and by extension the system could be applied to the older states. Extension of the principle could destroy state rights and state sovereignty if existing states were made to barter away their rights as the new states had been forced to do.

If all public lands were transferred to the states, they would not be lost to the United States. Whatever added to the wealth or prosperity of a state added to the wealth or prosperity of the entire country. The constitution was more important than land, liberty more important than money.

McKinley charged that the administration was attempting to discourage emigration to the new states by refusing to lower the price of public lands. He pointed out that the Secretary of the Treasury, in his most recent annual report, has sought to prove that the price of public lands ought not to be reduced because reduction would give too much encouragement to emigration thereby preventing manufacturers from obtaining cheap labor. The Secretary had admitted in the report that population might be increased more by the encouragement of emigration and agricultural pursuits but had argued that it was better to increase capital in the hands of manufacturers by compelling the poor to work for them. Such a policy, said McKinley, deprived the poor of great benefits, gave special advantages to wealthy manufacturers and discouraged the population of new states, thus diminishing their political importance within the Union.

McKinley preferred a system that would encourage the poor to emigrate to new states where they could become "landholders at a cheap rate, and rear their families in freedom and independence." It was vain to try to arrest the flow of

emigration, for, so long as men were free, they would pursue their interest and happiness. "It is better," he declared, "to be a tenant on rich land than a landlord on poor: it is better to be a free man in the West than a slave to a manufacturer in the East." Graduation would not lower the income from public lands, for millions of acres had remained unsold at the minimum price, good evidence that such land was not worth the existing minimum. Lands could be sold at a fair price, the return applied to the national debt and a savings made on interest sufficient to make up for any losses incurred by graduation. Since the lands involved were poor, there was little danger that speculators would buy them. The United States government, he charged, was in fact the greatest speculator of all, for it was holding up settlement and trying to force up the price of its own lands.

Congress should set an example of justice, moderation and fair dealing by ceding public lands to the states and adopting graduation in the territories. There was little danger of speculation and the step would produce large sums of money. Not to give lands to the states would be to deprive them of some attributes of sovereignty. They would be subjected to laws of the United States on purely municipal subjects. The majority in Congress, he maintained, represented older states and were often ignorant of the "peculiar wants and wishes" of the people they were legislating for and unwilling to heed their petitions. The President, moreover, had the discretionary power of bringing much or little land on the market, of restraining settlement entirely, or of giving preference to the settlement of one state over another. Under the circumstances, the states had just cause to complain. Despite the efforts of McKinley and others in favor of major reform of land laws, only a temporary relief bill was adopted.<sup>14</sup>

McKinley did not participate extensively in the 1828 tariff debates, but he expressed alarm at the nature of the Tariff Act in a subsequent letter. Considering the existing depressed price of cotton, he declared, it constituted "a most oppressive measure of the Southern States." If, however, it induced

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<sup>14</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twentieth Congress, First Session, 508-521.

the people to manufacture for themselves, raise their own supplies of every kind and thereby "insure their independence" of other parts of the country, it could bring benefits instead of injury. Two-thirds of the cotton being produced, he reasoned, would bring more if one-third were destroyed.<sup>15</sup>

With the support of McKinley and many other Alabama leaders, Andrew Jackson easily won in Alabama in the 1828 presidential canvass. In a public letter in May, McKinley deplored the amount of time spent in "useless declamation" and the passage of "bad laws" during preceding months, and on July 2 addressed a large gathering at Florence concerning recent events.<sup>16</sup> In Washington in early 1829, he expressed general satisfaction with the Jackson Administration. He wrote John Coffee on March 14 that there was greater satisfaction with the Jackson Cabinet than at first and that the General would get along better than some had predicted. He wrote another friend, although some had been dissatisfied with the distribution of offices, Jackson in most instances had not been to blame. His friends had misled him in many instances. "Such a scramble for office," he said, had never been seen before as the one which had taken place since Jackson's arrival. He wrote Coffee in early 1830 that Jackson appeared to be as popular as ever, but that John Eaton was getting along badly. It was impossible, he said, "to force her [Peggy] on society." The first congressional session under Jackson, he said, had been "quiet and harmonious."<sup>17</sup>

In this session, McKinley continued to be a strong supporter of land legislation favorable to the actual settler. As Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, he reported his own bill granting pre-emption rights for one year to those who had cultivated lands during 1829 and another giving those who had relinquished land the privilege of repurchase under special conditions. Early in the session, he defended

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<sup>15</sup>McKinley to Editor, May 26, 1828, *Democrat*, June 27, 1828.

<sup>16</sup>*Democrat*, June 27, July 18, 1828.

<sup>17</sup>McKinley to Coffee, March 14, 1829, January 25, 1830, Coffee Papers; McKinley to John Wesley Hunt, March 26, 1829, quoted in Hicks, "McKinley," 230.

the pre-emption scheme, pointing out that some lands of some persons covered under the act had already been advertised for auction. He favored giving advantages to those who wished to repurchase relinquished lands, but did not want them to have better terms than those who had retained land. On another occasion, he spoke in favor of a graduation plan. To benefit the poorer classes in the new states and make as many freeholders as possible, he proposed an amendment calling for a reduction to fifty cents per acre. Most unsold lands in Alabama, he pointed out, were of very poor quality. Since good lands brought little more than the minimum, people could not be expected to pay much for unclaimed lands. There were about 144,000 non-taxpaying whites in the public land states who did not own land. Many of these lived on refuse land and would buy a farm at a lower price. If the better one-fourth of the public lands were made available, these people could have a hundred acres each. Many could afford to pay forty dollars for an eighty acre tract. The old policy of keeping prices high was too narrow and had held back the development of a landholding citizenry and produced tenants and squatters on the public lands. Far from being trespassers, as some claimed, the squatters were "pioneers of all the new settlements in the West and Southwest." They penetrated the forests, built cabins and afforded facilities and supplies for those who came later. When they caused land values to be enhanced, the United States Treasury profited. Formerly, many had seen their improvements sold away from them and had had to turn to the refuse lands. Here, they began to cultivate and improve another tract, hoping that nobody would be tempted to buy the land and displace them. If they were permitted to become owners, the country would benefit from taxes paid on the land, from the improved condition of its citizens and the overall increase in wealth. As in previous sessions, however, only limited changes in land policies were adopted.<sup>18</sup>

Although he had been a consistent supporter of generous land legislation, McKinley came under attack when he voted in favor of referring the much-debated Foot Resolution to

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<sup>18</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twenty-First Congress, First Session, 11, 275-276, 415-416; *Southern Advocate*, July 17, 1830.

the Committee on Public Lands. Critics charged that he had deserted the cause of his section in giving such sanction to the proposal; however, McKinley argued that reference of the subject to the Public Lands Committee was a vote against it, as the Public Lands Committee was opposed to the substance of the resolution.<sup>19</sup>

McKinley subjected himself to additional criticism from the Jackson camp when he suggested an amendment to the Indian Removal Bill outlawing gifts to Indian leaders when a treaty was under consideration. Honesty was the best policy, he maintained, and negotiations should be aboveboard. The less given to the chiefs the better. Under pressure from those who feared the amendment would delay passage of the bill, however, McKinley withdrew the amendment. He later conceded that it had been a mistake and insisted that he had favored the Indian Removal Bill from the time of its introduction.<sup>20</sup>

McKinley evoked further attacks upon himself when he voted for the Maysville Bill, even after Jackson's veto. This vote, said his critics, was in contradiction to the views of the President, the State of Alabama, and even McKinley's own professed views. In answer to a letter requesting an explanation of his vote, McKinley pointed out that 1826 instructions of the Alabama legislature left the implication that the United States government could give aid to a state project if requested by the state to carry out a "state measure." Alabama had sought for and had been granted lands for the improvement of the Tennessee. More recently, she had sought aid to connect the Tennessee and the Coosa. If it was proper for Alabama to have aid for state projects, it was equally proper for Kentucky to have assistance. He could not in good conscience ask for help for Alabama and not be willing to vote assistance for other states. In voting for the Maysville Bill, he had thought his vote was in conformity with the instructions of the Alabama legislature. Had it not been for specific instructions on the subject, he would have gone along with

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<sup>19</sup>*Southern Advocate*, September 18, December 11, 1830.

<sup>20</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twenty-First Congress, First Session, 19-20; *Southern Advocate*, December 11, 1830.



the President; for, in general, he was opposed to all internal improvement projects which would in any way transfer soil and jurisdiction to the national government. He opposed internal improvements, moreover, because they were the chief justification for the existing high tariff, a system most oppressive to the South.<sup>21</sup>

During 1830, interest was mounting in the forthcoming senate race for the seat held by McKinley. On February 5, 1830, McKinley wrote John Coffee that his going to the Senate had been "the most foolish act" of his life. For sacrificing his private interests and suffering privations of domestic comforts, he had been rewarded by "slander and abuse." During the recent session of the Alabama legislature, his character had been assailed in every way that malice and falsehood could suggest. Nevertheless, he would not abandon his friends and give the appearance of being driven out of office. He would again offer his services if his friends wished to bring his name forward but preferred to be released if another could be found who was equally acceptable. On February 25, he wrote Coffee that some were saying he dare not offer himself for office. He believed they were trying to destroy his influence against what he considered "one of the most unholy combinations to get possession of the power and offices of the state." Under the circumstances, his name, he felt, should be kept before the public, at least until after the legislative elections. He suspected secret as well as avowed reasons for opposition.<sup>22</sup>

Through the *Florence Gazette*, McKinley's supporters denied a rumor that he had publicly declined being a candidate and charged that the opposition was acting in "a manner not much to the credit of those engaged in it." Friends in Florence had no reason to think he would not run. Some of McKinley's advocates and allied newspapers proposed that prospective members of the Alabama legislature pledge their support for McKinley prior to the August election. Others, including some McKinley supporters, objected to a procedure

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<sup>21</sup>McKinley to R. K. Anderson, November 19, 1830, quoted in *Southern Advocate*, December 11, 1830.

<sup>22</sup>Letters in Coffee Papers.

that would cause the election result to hinge on a single issue and warned of the danger of excessive bargaining. Still others expressed disappointment that McKinley's supporters had felt called upon to take such a humiliating course, for he had only to point to his record in order to secure re-election. In June, McKinley's only announced opponent was David Hubbard of Florence, but the Huntsville *Democrat* surmised that a stronger candidate would be thrown against him.<sup>23</sup>

Goaded by personal and newspaper criticism, McKinley made an impassioned speech before a large Florence audience on July 5, 1830, defending his course and attacking the opposition. Charging that he had been "unjustly and ungenerously assailed" by critics who were motivated by "personal enmity and wild ambition" rather than "principle and patriotism," he asked that his acts be judged by a "liberal, unprejudiced and candid people" who could never expect perfection in anyone. He had reason to think that a combination had been formed at the recent session of the Alabama legislature to bring about his defeat and that it was responsible for attacks being made upon him. As the people were the fountain of power, they had a right to ask for a pledge from prospective legislators. Why, he asked, did some object to such a pledge? Did they expect "to barter away" the rights of the people and vote for a person they disapproved of? Would not it be best to have all candidates commit themselves and let the people decide? McKinley then pointed to legislation that had been passed with his support. The previous Congress had passed a relief act that "gave homes to a large and respectable class of our fellow citizens poor and rich," and a pre-emption act that made secure the homes of many at the minimum price. Any imperfections should be blamed on the entire Congress, not on one person. If the impossible was demanded, public servants should retire and be replaced by a "set of artful, designing demagogues" whose only merit consisted of "depreciating the good acts and merits of others." Such men sought office to serve themselves and those who helped them attain power. The people should "beware of wolves in sheep's clothing."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>*Southern Advocate*, April 16, June 12, June 26, 1830; *Democrat*, June 3, 17, July 8, September 9, 1830.

<sup>24</sup>*Southern Advocate*, July 17, 1830.

Hubbard responded with a caustic speech in Tusculum on July 15 in which he accused McKinley of making a "long and inflammatory" stump speech and engaging in egotistic self-adulation with the intent of securing the election of pledged members to the Alabama legislature who would elect him without examining his conduct in office. Capable, just and faithful members should be elected, said Hubbard, and allowed to make their own decisions. He charged that McKinley was a late convert to Jackson whereas he had been a Jackson follower since 1814. McKinley had changed parties once in 1826 to obtain office and might compromise again. He questioned whether McKinley had contributed as much to land legislation as he claimed and charged that he had otherwise failed to attend to the interests of Alabama. Specifically, he had voted for the Maysville Bill and other similar legislation in opposition to the President and instructions from the Alabama legislature and had delayed the Indian Removal Bill by introducing an amendment opposed by Jackson and his friends. McKinley had not been a uniform supporter of the President, and he had not faithfully followed the public will. These charges alone should be enough to defeat him. Hubbard admitted that he might not be chosen as McKinley's successor, but suggested that someone could be found who would be able to defeat him.<sup>25</sup>

During the summer and fall, such newspapers as the *Montgomery Alabama Journal* continued the attack in like vein; and others, such as the *Huntsville Democrat* and the *Mobile Register* sought to defend McKinley. On October 14, the *Democrat* charged that there was a move afoot "to put a Senator in Congress over the heads of the people, without their consent," and that every effort would be made to carry that design into effect "unless restrained by the people's *known will*." A public letter to Governor Gabriel Moore appeared in the same issue stating that a scheme was underway to defeat McKinley and that a report had been circulated that Moore was to be the instrument of this group. The writers expressed confidence that Moore would not lend his support to a move that was designed to gratify personal revenge. To

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<sup>25</sup>*Southern Advocate*, September 18, 1830.



do so would be to deprive the state of another "faithful and able officer" before Moore's own term had expired. The people wanted Moore to remain as governor and McKinley as senator. Although the letter called on Moore to explain his intentions, he had not done so when the legislature met in November.

Hubbard reopened the attack on McKinley in an address to members of the General Assembly. McKinley, he said, was not "a sturdy and uniform supporter of any one principle or opinion" and had a strong disposition to be anything and everything and no one thing for long at a time. He claimed to be opposed to the American System but had voted for most internal improvements. He had interfered in Alabama to secure modification of state action concerning disposal of state lands and now denied it. In state politics, he had followed an "uncertain and devious course." Since McKinley had called him a "slandorous demagogue," Hubbard had no choice except to show him up for what he really was. McKinley's words were the "EXPIRING HOWL OF THE POLITICAL DEMAGOGUE."<sup>26</sup>

At the request of a member of the legislature, McKinley explained some of his past actions and his current views in a letter dated November 19. He was, he said, opposed to the entire American System. He had always opposed a tariff for the protection of domestic manufacturers and had opposed internal improvements that transferred soil and jurisdiction to the United States government. He had, however, voted for some internal improvement bills because they involved requests similar to ones the Alabama legislature had instructed its representatives to support as state measures. If Alabama could legally secure aid to improve navigation, Kentucky could seek aid to improve its roads. Despite the President's views, he could not with consistency support the Alabama requests without supporting similar proposals of other states. He was opposed to the exercise of any powers by the national government beyond those "expressly granted by the Constitution," but he was equally opposed to the exercise of national

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<sup>26</sup>*Southern Advocate*, December 11, 1830.

powers by the states. Each should "keep within the pale of its constitutional powers." He had been a Jackson supporter, and he would vote for him in 1832.<sup>27</sup>

By now, the avowed opposition candidate was Gabriel Moore, who had both personal and political reasons for opposing McKinley. He was personally provoked at McKinley because he had failed to secure the appointment of Moore's nephew as Marshall of Northern Alabama, and he had close ties with the Calhoun faction which was seeking to oust McKinley because he had not conformed sufficiently to their views. Moore showed letters to several persons in an effort to prove that McKinley had not given full support to his nephew and in conversations tried to convince members of the legislature that McKinley should not be re-elected. A person needed to be chosen, he said, who was "in all respects the *sincere* and *ardent* friend of the President and the administration" and who would give the administration "a cordial and unwavering support." Since McKinley's votes were evidence of his hostility to Jackson, Moore urged that he be chosen himself.<sup>28</sup>

McKinley presented his side of the case to the legislature in a public address. He had expected Moore to oppose him because he had been unable to secure the appointment of Moore's nephew. Although McKinley and King had both used every means possible to secure the appointment, Jackson refused to give it to him. Moore had later expressed satisfaction with McKinley's course and had said he would not run for the Senate; however, during a recent meeting of the two at Huntsville, he had complained about McKinley's course, insisting that McKinley and King should have threatened to oppose Jackson's actual appointee. Despite McKinley's argument that this would have been an invasion of the rights of the President, Moore threatened to support another for the senate seat. McKinley conceded that Moore had a right to seek the seat

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<sup>27</sup>McKinley to R. K. Anderson, November 19, 1830, quoted in *Southern Advocate*, December 11, 1830.

<sup>28</sup>John M. Martin, "The Senatorial Career of Gabriel Moore," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (Summer, 1964), 249-252, hereinafter cited as Martin, "Moore."

but maintained that he had a right to be surprised and expressed regret that they were foes.

Hearing that Moore had shown certain letters to others and was planning to answer his first address, probably after he had left for Washington, McKinley directed a second address to the legislature. In it, he attacked Moore for allowing private and confidential correspondence to be used for political reasons. McKinley challenged Moore to show other correspondence from Jackson and King which would confirm that McKinley had supported Moore's nephew. Admittedly, the nephew had merit for the position, but the person chosen was also well qualified. If the need arose, McKinley proposed to prove by the President, General Coffee and his colleague King that he had not wronged Moore's nephew.

Moore now published two addresses. In the first he blamed much of the furor on McKinley who, in spite of having pledged supporters, had come to Tuscaloosa to seek additional support. McKinley was incorrect in saying that he had entered the contest for purely personal reasons. True, he had been displeased because of McKinley's failure to carry out promises he had made concerning his nephew. But he was also opposed to some of the political views of McKinley, especially in regard to internal improvements. Unlike McKinley, he was not an "eleventh hour" convert to Jacksonianism, but he had been "one of the old soldiers, found laboring in his ranks at the first outset." In the second address, Moore admitted reading parts of certain letters to a few friends in an effort to show that McKinley had distorted certain facts. The letters were private but not confidential; they related to public, not private, matters. He could not publicize the content of Jackson's letters because he did not have permission. He chided McKinley for suggesting that the letters of others be used in his behalf. It was well known, concluded Moore, that the opposition to McKinley's re-election existed "long before the occurrence of those circumstances to which he had chosen to attribute it."<sup>20</sup>

The election was delayed while political maneuvering took place. At first, McKinley's friends were optimistic; however,

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<sup>20</sup>All addresses published in *Southern Advocate*, December 11, 1830.

they soon detected wavering in the ranks and a loss of support for their candidate. When the vote was taken, Moore was victorious by a vote of 49-40 with three votes scattered. One observer wrote that political juggling had occurred to equal that of Talleyrand. Moore's victory represented a triumph "of men, over principles and measures." The Huntsville *Democrat* charged that some of McKinley's "malignant, black hearted, uncompromising enemies" had supported Moore, whom they disliked, in order to defeat McKinley. One of the groups had been used by the other.<sup>30</sup> President Jackson charged that the "great nullifier" had had a large part in Moore's candidacy and predicted that he would come to Washington as "an opposer of the present administration, and perfect nullifier, and supporter of the So[uth] Carolina nullifying doctrine." McKinley wrote from Washington that he had heard Calhoun influence in southern Alabama had operated most strongly against him and that Jackson considered Moore a "hypocritical scoundrel." Finding he could not dominate McKinley, Calhoun had used the influence of Dixon H. Lewis to secure the election of Moore, thus strengthening the nullifiers in the Senate.<sup>31</sup>

Although McKinley had been defeated for a new term, he still had the last short session of his current term to serve. He was particularly concerned about the growing rift between the President and Vice President and predicted that Calhoun and his friends would make a move against Jackson before 1832. In what he called his last public act for the people of Alabama, he pushed through the Senate an act for the relief of land purchasers. The President and others urged McKinley to seek the governorship in 1831. Plaintively he wrote, "I am so tired of politics, so unwilling to engage in a bitter scene of electioneering, such as I would have to encounter, that I do not feel at all disposed to engage in it."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>*Democrat*, December 2, 16, 23, 1830.

<sup>31</sup>Jackson to John Coffee, December 28, 1830, in John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 7 volumes (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1926-1935), IV, 215-216; McKinley to John Coffee, January 29, February 21, 1831, Coffee Papers.

<sup>32</sup>McKinley to John Coffee, January 2, January 29, 1831; McKinley to Editor, January 29, 1831, *Democrat*, February 17, 1831.

Although McKinley did not seek the governorship, he consented to run for a seat in the Alabama legislature from Lauderdale County and was easily elected.<sup>33</sup> Appointed to several committees, he took a prominent part in proceedings of the legislature. After he proposed that the part of the governor's message relating to the Bank of the United States be referred to a select committee, he was made chairman of a committee which prepared a memorial to Congress attacking the Bank and proposing a substitute for it. Many citizens of the state, said the memorial, regarded the bank charter as "inconsistent with our free institutions, and dangerous to the peace and safety of the union" because it created an "unjust monopoly" for the benefit of the few and gave control of currency and banking institutions to a "mere corporation." Although it operated in the name of the United States government, it was not responsible to the government. Its directors had forced branches into some states against the will of the people and to the detriment of state banks and had used deposits of the United States, when in the form of state notes, to the detriment of state banks. The revenue of the United States government, in the interior and western states, had been made the "engine of oppression of the people, and finally of destruction to the State Banks." The committee proposed a new plan calling for a capital of \$100,000,000, of which \$70,000,000 was to be government owned. Eight of the twelve directors and the president would be appointed by the President, and reports would be required. Branch banks could be located in states only if approved by the appropriate legislature, and the state in which a branch was located should be given the privilege of appointing one-third of the directors. Although criticized from some directions, the report was acclaimed by those who were opposed to the Bank.<sup>34</sup>

McKinley continued his opposition to the doctrine of nullification. Speaking about a resolution concerning the legality of the tariff, he declared, "We shall take Jackson and the union or Calhoun and disunion." Such a declaration, charged the Calhoun press, was unfair. The state rights party was for Jackson and union in spite of its support of state rights.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>*Democrat*, June 30, August 11, 1831.

<sup>34</sup>*Democrat*, January 12, 1832.

<sup>35</sup>*Alabama Journal* (Montgomery), January 7, 1832.



In January, 1832, McKinley attended the "Democratic Jackson meeting," or state convention held for the purpose of nominating electors for the coming presidential election. Made chairman of the committee on nominations, he presented a slate of nominees pledged to the support of candidates chosen by the national party. When a caucus of members of the legislature sought to demand a pledge to support P. P. Barbour for the vice presidency, McKinley and others in the legislature strongly denounced the plan. The congressional caucus, they declared, had been put down. Action by members of the state legislature serving in an official capacity represented another form of it. A meeting of members of the legislature, along with others, was, they said, an appropriate means of determining views and making nominations.<sup>36</sup>

After Van Buren was nominated for the vice presidency, some sought to throw the support of Alabama to P. P. Barbour, but McKinley took a lead in trying to keep the party united. He presided over a meeting at Athens in September which adopted resolutions supporting Jackson and Van Buren and declaring that any attempt to run someone besides Van Buren was "unfriendly to the success of our cause," and later attended a gathering at Huntsville which called for the unity of Jacksonians in favor of the national ticket. The dissidents were unsuccessful, and Jackson and Van Buren won easily in Alabama.<sup>37</sup>

In 1833, McKinley ran for a seat in the United States House of Representatives against Nicholas Davis, an able candidate who had been a rival of McKinley at least as far back as 1826. McKinley was victorious by a vote of 3,724 to 3,369 and was privileged to serve in what he called "one of the most memorable civic struggles" in the history of the United States, the conflict between President Jackson and supporters of the Bank of the United States. In this struggle, he declared after the first session of the new Congress, he had been found "on the side of the people, endeavoring to maintain and protect the

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<sup>36</sup>*Democrat*, January 19, 1830; *Southern Advocate*, January 21, 1832; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama* (1831), 232-234.

<sup>37</sup>*Democrat*, September 13, 20, October 18, 1832.

principles of civil liberty against a powerful monied aristocracy, and its equally powerful friends.”<sup>38</sup>

In debates growing out of the removal of government deposits from the Bank of the United States, McKinley sided strongly with the administration. When some proposed that the House order deposits restored, he demanded to know how such a request could be justified. Only if a bill were proposed and passed would it be proper to consider restoration. McKinley also fought a proposal that would have required banks holding government deposits to furnish certain information. The banks, he said, were not bound beyond the terms of the contract under which they held deposits. On another occasion, when the subject of honesty in government was under discussion, he declared, “Let them at once bring down the revenue, and make an honest Government.” Unless taxes were reduced, a reduction of salaries would not reduce the burdens of the country, for the whole amount that might be saved would “only go to the works of internal improvements, or some such purpose.”<sup>39</sup>

McKinley opposed most proposals for the expenditure of national revenues for internal improvements. It was time the system was arrested, he declared, for enough proposals were being made to exhaust all revenues from the sale of public lands. Although he doubted that the United States had authority to make improvements where it had no jurisdiction, he conceded that Congress had the power “to aid the states by appropriations for such purposes.” On another occasion, he opposed an appropriation for repairs on the Cumberland Road. Too much had already been spent on it, and new demands were excessive. Favoritism, moreover, was being shown to states north of the Ohio. How, he asked the opposition, could they say that there was little money in the treasury and at the same time support large appropriations for roads and canals? McKinley himself supported an appropriation to help break up the great raft in the Red River. If the raft were removed, he said, thousands of acres of valuable land would be made avail-

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<sup>38</sup>*Democrat*, March 28, May 23, August 22, 1833; McKinley to Tuscaloosa Committee, quoted in *Democrat*, October 1, 1834.

<sup>39</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twenty-Third Congress, First Session, 2177, 3305, 3659.

able. As soon as the area was thrown open, land would be purchased by cotton growers, men who wished a large body of land and who could afford the cost of development. Immediate sale was certain, and the cost of removal was increasing daily. If the raft were removed, one of the finest rivers in the West would be open, over a million acres of land made available and the Treasury should receive over \$2,000,000. Nothing, he felt, promoted the public happiness more than bringing settlers to the public land.<sup>40</sup>

Prevented by a parliamentary maneuver from discussing graduation at the First Session of the Twenty-third Congress, McKinley introduced an unsuccessful resolution at the Second Session calling for the gradual reduction in the price of unsold lands at five-year intervals from seventy-five cents to fifty cents to twenty-five cents to twelve and one-half cents to six and one-quarter cents, and after twenty-five years, cession of unsold lands to the states. If a person lived on land that had already been on the market a number of years, he proposed preemption of a quarter section at the appropriate price. He wished the land question to be considered in all its aspects. The House needed to decide about its future policy toward the subject, whether the poor were to have a chance of buying land on easy terms or not. Personally, he wanted refuse land in his home state to be brought within reach of persons with small means.<sup>41</sup>

McKinley supported the administration in its policy toward France as expressed by Jackson in his 1834 message. For four years, since the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of 1831, the French legislative body had failed to provide money to carry the treaty into effect, and in its 1834 session had rejected the appropriation. Even if the King had a sincere desire to put the treaty into effect, he could not act until the legislative branch provided money. The good feeling of the French King was not a sufficient reason for additional forbearance in the part of the United States. He had no doubts of the sincerity of the King, but it was obvious that the French legislative branch did not plan to act. In answer to those who argued that the

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<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 4391, 4519-4520, 4540-4541.

<sup>41</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twenty-Third Congress, First Session, 4540; Twenty-Third Congress, Second Session, 783-784.



United States should forbear because France had been a friend and ally, McKinley insisted that the United States had shown enough forbearance. Before 1831, it had allowed the claims to remain unsettled for more than twenty years and in 1831 had permitted them to be scaled down by about one-half in order to prevent a rupture. Nearly four years had now passed, and no provision had been made for payment. France, and the world, must feel a contempt for the United States if it permitted a continuation of injury and injustice. France must herself act if the friendship was to be preserved. She was the guilty party, not the United States. To those who argued that the size of the debt was trivial in comparison to the consequences of a war in prospect, McKinley conceded that from a pecuniary standpoint this was true; but, he declared, this line of reasoning could not be tolerated. By submitting to the indignity of paying off the debt rather than forcing France to pay, the United States would be abandoning all national character and inviting aggression and insult from every other quarter. The South would suffer financially if war came, but, he promised, southerners would "submit to any personal privation, rather than submit to national dishonor."<sup>42</sup>

In one of his last reported speeches in the House of Representatives, McKinley protested against the printing of an anti-slavery memorial relating to slavery in the District of Columbia. If proponents admitted that no action on the subject was expected during the current session, what good could be accomplished? The memorial was a firebrand, one of the most impudent ever received by the House, and did not deserve to be publicized. It was sufficient that the memorial had been received by the House. Congress, he declared, had no right to "lay their hands" upon his property wherever it was.<sup>43</sup>

McKinley's name was again mentioned in 1835 as a prospective candidate for the governorship; however, he did not oppose Clement C. Clay for the office. Nor did he seek reelection to the House. Although out of office during most of 1835 and 1836, he continued to maintain an interest in politics.

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<sup>42</sup>*Register of Debates*, Twenty-Third Congress, Second Session, 1226-1227.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 1395-1396.

In December, 1835, he was chosen as a Democratic elector for 1836 by the Alabama Democratic Convention and was elected to the post as a Van Buren supporter.<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile, McKinley had been elected in 1836 as a member of the Alabama House of Representatives from Lauderdale County. The chief subject before this session was to be the selection of a senator to replace Gabriel Moore, victor over McKinley in 1830. By this time, Moore had made himself unpopular among Jacksonians because of his refusal to support Van Buren as Minister to England, the vice presidency in 1832 and the presidency in 1836, his outspoken opposition to the Force Bill and Jackson's removal policy, and his refusal to resign following passage of resolutions by the Alabama General Assembly requesting his resignation.<sup>45</sup>

McKinley was the first choice of the Jackson following for Moore's seat. They looked on him as a loyal supporter of Jackson and Van Buren and wanted him vindicated for his defeat in 1830. When he was unanimously nominated by Alabama Democrats, McKinley cheerfully accepted the nomination and promised to follow a "continued devotion to the sacred principles of the constitution" and to help accomplish the "high destiny" that awaited the United States. The opposition prevented an early vote on the senatorial question on the grounds that no decision should be made until after the results of the presidential election were known. Feeling that Van Buren would carry the state, McKinley and his supporters consented to the delay but maintained that members of the legislature were not bound to vote according to the election result. After the delay, McKinley was elected easily over Arthur F. Hopkins by a vote of 72-45. A few voices, such as that of the *Southern Advocate*, complained that his Van Burenism constituted a heavy load to bear; as a whole, however, most Alabamians were apparently satisfied with the result.<sup>46</sup>

Although vindicated for his earlier defeat, McKinley was

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<sup>44</sup>*Southern Advocate*, April 28, August 11, 1835; *Democrat*, December 23, 1835, October 4, December 13, 1836.

<sup>45</sup>*Democrat*, August 23, 1836; Martin, "Moore," 279-280.

<sup>46</sup>*Democrat*, September 27, October 11, December 6, 1836; *Southern Advocate*, November 22, 29, 1836.

not destined to serve his second term. In 1837, he accepted a position on the United States Supreme Court and resigned his seat in the Senate, thus ending a legislative career which had seen him serve in the Alabama legislature, the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.<sup>47</sup> He had served the state well, particularly in his support of land legislation beneficial to settlers in the state. Although he had at times disagreed with Jacksonian policies, he had also served the Democratic Party well and deserved the reward given him by Van Buren.

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<sup>47</sup>*Democrat*, May 16, 1837.



## THE "HARD FORTUNE" OF THEODORE O'HARA

*By**Richard P. Weinert*

Theodore O'Hara is best remembered today as a poet, although only one of his two poems achieved lasting fame. Actually, to O'Hara the "Bivouac of the Dead" was probably the least important of his accomplishments. O'Hara in many ways was a rare example of the legendary ante-bellum Southern chivalry. Soldier, journalist, teacher, and lawyer, he moved in the best social circles and knew the best people. He often seems like a character out of a romantic novel. At other times he seems like one out of a Greek tragedy. For despite his many accomplishments and his one famous poem, Theodore O'Hara must be considered to have been a failure. This article will deal primarily with O'Hara's military career because it best illustrates the combination of great potential and small accomplishment which characterized the man.

Theodore O'Hara was born in Danville, Kentucky, the son of Kane O'Hara, a teacher of Zachary Taylor. He graduated from St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, Kentucky, with first honors and then taught Greek there. Tiring of the life of a school teacher, he resigned his position and took up the study of law under Judge William Owsley. Another of Judge Owsley's students at the time was John Cabell Breckinridge. The friendship of the two young law students was to continue over the years and play an important part in the subsequent career of O'Hara.

After completing his law studies, O'Hara apparently soon lost interest in that profession. He drifted into journalism and worked on several newspapers in Louisville, Frankfort, and Mobile during the next few years. The outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846 gave him the opportunity to try his restless talents on the military field. He obtained a commission as captain and assistant quartermaster of volunteers on June 26, 1846, probably with the help of Judge Owsley who had become Governor of Kentucky. Captain O'Hara joined the staff of Brig. Gen. Franklin Pierce, a future President of the United States, in the campaign before Mexico City. O'Hara was wounded and won the

brevet of major for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco on August 20, 1847. Since he only held a volunteer commission, O'Hara was honorably discharged from the army on October 15, 1848, at the end of the war.<sup>1</sup>

He returned to Frankfort after his discharge. Because of his literary talents he was requested to write a poem in honor of Col. William R. McKee and Lt. Col. Henry Clay, Jr., of the 2d Kentucky Volunteers who had been killed in the Battle of Buena Vista. O'Hara first read "The Bivouac of the Dead" at the burial of Colonel Clay in Frankfort. He had reached the high point of his career and had won his one claim to immortality.

For the next few years O'Hara resumed his journalistic career, taking time off for a filibustering expedition to Cuba, but his brief taste of military glory made him restless. In 1855 Jefferson Davis, Pierce's Secretary of War, obtained permission to expand the regular army by two infantry and two cavalry regiments. O'Hara, probably as a result of his excellent record in the Mexican War and because of the influential connections he had made over the years, received a direct commission on March 3, 1855, as captain in the new 2d United States Cavalry commanded by Col. Albert Sidney Johnston.

The 2d United States Cavalry contained a roster of picked officers. Some historians have described it as Jefferson Davis' pet regiment. This regiment supplied more officers to high command than perhaps any other in the history of the United States Army. Its lieutenant colonel was Robert E. Lee. William J. Hardee, William H. Emory, and George H. Thomas served as majors in the regiment while O'Hara was assigned to it. Among the captains were Earl Van Dorn, Edmund Kirby Smith, Nathan G. Evans, and George Stoneman. The lieutenants

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<sup>1</sup>Annie Mae Hollingsworth, "Theodore O'Hara, Immortal Poet of One Song," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (Fall 1945), pp. 418-419. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Vol. I, p. 758. O'Hara to The Adjutant General, July 3, 1846, Letters Received, The Adjutant General's Office (TAGO), Record Group (RG) 94, National Archives (NA).



included John B. Hood, Fitzhugh Lee, Walter H. Jenifer, and Charles W. Field. Kenner Garrard was the first regimental adjutant.<sup>2</sup>

Captain O'Hara entered on regimental recruiting service at Louisville in April and then served on a board of officers purchasing horses at Louisville, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, and Cincinnati. On September 21 he joined the regiment, which was temporarily under the command of Colonel Lee, at Jefferson Barracks and was assigned to the command of Company F. As soon as the regiment finished its recruiting, it was ordered to Texas to relieve six companies of the 2d United States Dragoons which were being transferred farther West. Colonel Johnston led the troopers out of Jefferson Barracks on October 27.

The regiment marched by way of Springfield, Missouri, through the Ozark Mountains and the Indian Territory. No supply train accompanied the column and the men carried their kits and other equipment on their horses, living off the country on the way. On November 28 the regiment reached Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, after days of exposure to a cutting wind which beat sleet and rain into the faces of the troopers and caused constant misery for man and horse. Captain Smith wrote of the march to his family, "Indeed in the whole course of my military experience I have never seen men suffer more."<sup>3</sup> Just as the column crossed into Texas a sixty mile an hour norther dropped the temperature below zero and froze the snow and rain into a six-inch cover of ice. Men and horses sought shelter under some trees, but these proved of little help and the march continued. The weary troopers passed through Fort Belknap and arrived at Camp Cooper in the middle of January 1856. Major Hardee was left at this point with Companies A, E, F, and K to lay out the new post while the

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<sup>2</sup>O'Hara to The Adjutant General, Letters Received, TAGO, RG 94, NA. Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee* (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), Vol. I, pp. 360-361. Richard O'Connor, *Thomas: Rock of Chickamauga* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup>Joseph Howard Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C. S. A.* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1954), p. 88.

remainder of the regiment continued to Fort Mason.<sup>4</sup> Colonel Lee rejoined the regiment from court-martial duty in March and assumed command of the two squadrons stationed at Camp Cooper.

Camp Cooper was located 170 miles from the regimental headquarters at Fort Mason. It was part of the Comanche reservation, located on the Clear Fork of the Brazos River, 35 miles from its junction with the main stream. The area was not one to cheer the tired troopers after their long march. Snakes were everywhere and wolves prowled around the camp at night. West of the camp a wild country stretched away to the Staked Plains. Most of the surrounding area had never been mapped. For the remainder of the winter the companies lived in tents. During the severe winter northers followed each other in rapid succession. With no stables, the horses suffered and were frequently covered with frozen sleet. The picket-lines of two of the companies were located under the shelter of the high banks of the creek, while the others located their picket-lines on two benches on the mountain side. There were no buildings at Camp Cooper and no lumber to build any. The troopers' neighbors, the Comanches, professed friendship, but they were not trusted.<sup>5</sup>

Except for two brief absences to serve as a witness at courts-martial at Fort Mason, O'Hara remained stationed at Camp Cooper until the end of July. The monotony of the lonely frontier outpost was broken in June when word came of Indian depredations on the edge of the Staked Plains near Fort Chadbourne. Colonel Lee with one squadron from Camp Cooper, including O'Hara's company, one from Fort Mason, and two from Fort Chadbourne set out in pursuit of the Comanches on June 11. After a four day march the troops from Camp Cooper reached Fort Chadbourne, about ninety miles to the southwest, and joined the other squadrons on the expedition.

The brief stay near Fort Chadbourne appears to have been the turning point in O'Hara's career. What happened there is

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<sup>4</sup>John P. Dyer, *The Gallant Hood* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1950), pp. 37-38.

<sup>5</sup>Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-364. Herbert M. Hart, *Old Forts of the Southwest* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 41-42.



known. Why it happened and what its effect was must remain a subject of conjecture. Late on the night of June 17, O'Hara slipped quietly out of the camp without permission. He probably headed for the sutler's store at Fort Chadbourne. After being absent without leave all night, O'Hara appeared for reveille the next morning. With all the squadrons together now, Lee started the column northwestward that morning, heading for the near branches of the Colorado and the Brazos Rivers. Lee ordered O'Hara to stay behind after he got his company on the trail to round up stragglers. O'Hara apparently went right back to the sutler's store and got so drunk that he was unable to catch up with the column until it made camp some twelve hours later.

To a man with Lee's sense of duty, O'Hara's conduct was unpardonable. Not only had he gone absent without leave, but he had become so drunk he could not command his company while it was in the field in pursuit of the enemy. Nothing could be done about the matter at the moment, and O'Hara resumed command of his company after he had sobered up. Four days of slow marching failed to uncover any sign of the Indians. Lee spread out his troopers to make a sweep to the northeast and then toward Double Mountain. All the Indian trails found were old and Lee determined to send the wagon train back and to proceed with the men carrying seven days' rations and no tents.

The first day after leaving the wagons the trail of a small band of Indians was discovered and smoke spotted some fifteen miles to the westward. The next morning, while Lee continued toward the Brazos, he sent Bvt. Maj. Van Dorn ahead with O'Hara in support of Van Dorn's right. Van Dorn met four Indians and in the ensuing skirmish killed two and captured a third, a squaw. Two days later he rejoined Lee's column. The troopers continued to sweep the country on their return march, but no further Indians were encountered. After forty hot days and some 1,600 miles of marching by the various units, the expedition returned to Camp Cooper on July 23, having ac-

complished nothing but the collection of some geographical information.<sup>6</sup>

On their return to Camp Cooper, Lee promptly preferred court-martial charges against O'Hara. O'Hara tried to work out some way of avoiding the trial, but Colonel Johnston, who was serving as commander of the Department of Texas, gave him the choice of a court-martial or resignation. On August 18, O'Hara, commenting on "the hard fortune which has envolved the forfeiture of my commission," tendered his resignation with the request that its acceptance be delayed until December. In the meantime, he had been ordered to march his company to Camp Colorado, about halfway between Forts Chadbourne and Mason. He went on leave of absence on October 11, never to return to the desolate frontier, and his resignation was accepted by Jefferson Davis as of December 1, 1856.<sup>7</sup>

What affect this unhappy episode had on O'Hara's subsequent Civil War career is impossible to tell. An examination of the persons involved in the case makes it appear, however, that it may well have had a decisive influence. The charges were preferred by Robert E. Lee and the resignation demanded by Albert Sidney Johnston, both future Confederate full generals. Lee's witnesses to the charges were Earl Van Dorn, a Confederate major general, "Shanks" Evans, a Confederate brigadier general, Walter H. Jenifer, a Confederate colonel, and Robert C. Wood, Jr., a Confederate lieutenant colonel. The resignation, including the charges, were approved by Col. Samuel Cooper, the Adjutant General and later the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General, and Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, the future President of the Confederacy.

Once more out of the army, O'Hara moved to Mobile and became the editor of a newspaper. There the outbreak of the

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<sup>6</sup>Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-368. Parks, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90. Charges and Specifications against Capt. Theodore O'Hara, Letters Received, TAGO, RG 94, NA.

<sup>7</sup>O'Hara to Maj. D. C. Buell, Aug. 18, 1856, Letters Received, TAGO, RG 94, NA. Statement of the Regular Army Service of Theodore O'Hara, TAGO, Apr. 16, 1935, in Compiled Military Service Record (CMSR), Lt. Col. Theodore O'Hara, 12th Alabama Infantry, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, RG 109, NA.

Civil War found him. Again the call of military glory could not be resisted, and he was one of the first to raise a company for Alabama. O'Hara took part in the concentration of Confederate troops at Pensacola and briefly served as commander of Fort McRee there.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently O'Hara's fall from grace was not held against him and his service in the United States Army and his combat experience earned him one of the coveted commissions in the Confederate regular army. Of all the thousands of officers who served in the Confederate army, only some 850 were "regulars," the vast majority having seen service in the United States Army. O'Hara was commissioned a captain of Confederate States Infantry to date March 16, 1861. On April 22 he was assigned to recruiting duty at Vicksburg, Mississippi. The regular army recruits enlisted in the Mississippi Valley were sent to the Infantry School of Practice at Baton Rouge Barracks, Louisiana. O'Hara had limited success in Vicksburg and on May 24 Gen. Samuel Cooper ordered him to break up his office and to proceed to Mobile to open another rendezvous, sending the recruits made there to Fort Morgan. Recruiting for the regular army continued to lag badly and on June 6 O'Hara was ordered to break up the Mobile rendezvous and report for duty at Richmond with as little delay as possible.<sup>9</sup>

After his arrival in Richmond, O'Hara was ordered to report to Brig. Gen. John H. Winder, the provost marshal of the city, for duty. On July 17, however, he became lieutenant colonel of the 12th Alabama Infantry of Brig. Gen. Richard S.

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<sup>8</sup>Hollingsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 420. O'Hara to Gen. John C. Breckinridge, Feb. 20, 1865, in CMSR, 12th Alabama Infantry, RG 109, NA. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. LII, Part II, pp. 22-23 (hereafter cited as OR).

<sup>9</sup>Register of Regular Army Commissions, Chap. I, Vol. 88, pp. 90-93, RG 109, NA. General Order No. 6, Adjutant & Inspector General's Office (A&IGO), Apr. 22, 1861. Register of Letters Received, A&IGO, Chap. I, Vol. 45, p. 163, entry 0-11. Letters Sent, A&IGO, June 6, 1861, RG 109, NA. A discussion of the recruiting efforts for the Confederate regular army will be found in Richard P. Weinert, "The Confederate Regular Army," *Military Affairs*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Fall 1962), pp. 97-107.

Ewell's brigade. O'Hara joined his regiment at Manassas Junction and served as regimental commander at various times during the next few months.<sup>10</sup>

Up until this point O'Hara's career had been typical of the Confederate regular officers and held promise that he would rise to high rank before the end of the war. Then his troubles began. Of the 44 officers commissioned captain of infantry in the regular army, 11 became brigadier generals and 16 became colonels. It appeared that O'Hara would quickly gain his next promotion. The colonel of the 12th Alabama Infantry, Robert T. Jones, decided that he would rather be colonel of the 20th Alabama Infantry. He reached an understanding with Secretary of War Leroy Pope Walker and O'Hara was appointed to take his place. Jones, however, only got as far as Richmond when he decided the whole idea was a mistake and applied for reinstatement in his old command. Acting Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin could find no record of the agreement and telegraphed Walker in Alabama to find out what was going on. Without waiting for a reply, Benjamin revoked O'Hara's appointment as colonel of the 12th Alabama and gave it back to Jones. Walker came up with the proof that the transfer had been legal, but Benjamin refused to take any further action in the matter.<sup>11</sup>

O'Hara, by now quite indignant with everyone, resigned his volunteer commission in November and reverted to his regular army rank of captain. The War Department ordered him to report to Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, his old colonel in the 2d United States Cavalry, at Bowling Green, Kentucky. Certainly Johnston would have remembered the Fort Chadbourne binge, but he must have had some faith in O'Hara's abilities and made him the assistant inspector general on his staff. O'Hara served with Johnston until the battle of Shiloh and with his commander when Johnston fell mortally wounded.

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<sup>10</sup>General Orders No. 85, A&IGO, July 1, 1861. CMSR, 12th Alabama Infantry, RG 109, NA. Special Orders No. 169, First Corps, Army of the Potomac, July 25, 1861. OR, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 626.

<sup>11</sup>O'Hara to Breckinridge, Feb. 20, 1865, in CMSR, 12th Alabama Infantry, RG 109, NA.

When the general was hit, O'Hara brought the other members of his staff to him and then sought a doctor in an unsuccessful attempt to save Johnston's life.<sup>12</sup>

On April 28, 1862, O'Hara was assigned as acting assistant adjutant general of the reserve corps of the Army of the Mississippi, commanded by his old friend Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge. Although still only legally a captain, O'Hara was known during this period by the courtesy title of "colonel." After a brief tour as Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard's acting assistant inspector general at the headquarters of the Western Department, O'Hara was ordered back to Breckinridge's command in October. During the battle of Stones River he took an active part, winning Breckinridge's praise for spotting enemy artillery and directing Confederate units to their proper positions.<sup>13</sup>

Following the battle a serious controversy arose between Breckinridge and Gen. Braxton Bragg, the army commander. O'Hara wrote Breckinridge, who was away from the army with his wife: "I wish to say a word to you in regard to a point of great moment & seriousness. It is a necessity that you hurry back as quickly as possible. Your command, its administration & economy, are going on as finely as could be desired, but the matter that requires your presence here is that old Bragg is moving Heaven & Earth to prepare to wage against you a war to the knife . . . Do not think it the result of a precipitate conclusion, or over zealous suspicion on my part. I know what I say — and further if you do not come back here to watch the movements of the enemy & give back-bone to your co (conspirators I had like to say) Bragg will gain an important advantage over you — that is he will get the start on you."<sup>14</sup>

In a series of gossip letters O'Hara kept Breckinridge

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<sup>12</sup>Special Orders No. 474, First Corps, Army of the Potomac, Nov. 1, 1861. Report of Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard, OR, Series I, Vol. X, p. 390; Report of Col. William Preston, aide-de-camp to Gen. Johnston, *ibid.*, pp. 404-405.

<sup>13</sup>General Orders No. 9, HQ, Reserve Corps, Army of the Mississippi, Apr. 28, 1862. Report of Gen. Breckinridge, OR, Series I, Vol. XX, pp. 784-787; Report of Col. Randall Lee Gibson, *ibid.*, p. 796.

<sup>14</sup>O'Hara to Breckinridge, Jan. 19, 1863, in CMSR, 12th Alabama Infantry, RG 109, NA.



informed of what was happening. He had received authority, however, to raise a new regiment and on March 7, 1863, was relieved from duty on Breckinridge's staff. Apparently the plan to form a regiment failed and in November he reported to the War Department from Columbus, Georgia, requesting an assignment.<sup>15</sup> He continued to report once a month until June 1864, when he was ordered to Atlanta to report to Gen. Joseph E. Johnston for duty. It is not known whether O'Hara ever served with Johnston, but in February 1865 he was in Richmond and looking for something to do. It seems possible that memories of O'Hara's failure in the field in Texas may have led the War Department to distrust his ability to hold a command.

Breckinridge had become Secretary of War and O'Hara expected that he would at last make use of his services. O'Hara wrote his friend a detailed account of his military misfortunes during the war. O'Hara bitterly commented that he had come out of the Mexican War a major and now, after sixteen years, was a captain. "In short," O'Hara continued, "I have seen promotions heaped upon everyone around me—I have seen almost every man who was my junior in rank and age in the service at the beginning of the war go up and forward, and leave me out of sight in the career of professional advancement. I cannot regard all this otherwise than as a reflection upon my character, and indeed as an absolute disgrace. I have borne the deep and poignant humiliation in patience and silence as long as I can. I have resolved to make a last appeal to the justice and magnanimity of my government for redress. Such is the intent of this communication, and I respectfully await to learn whether or not I am to continue to suffer the mortifying & degrading ostracism I have endured for four years from all the chances of honorable distinction in this war."<sup>16</sup>

O'Hara was ordered to report to General Beauragard for assignment to duty in his command. But by then it was too late. Within two months the war was over and O'Hara came

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<sup>15</sup>O'Hara to Col. Benjamin S. Ewell, Feb. 24 and July 26, 1863, in *CMSR*, 12th Alabama Infantry, RG 109, NA. O'Hara to Cooper, Nov. 24, 1863, *ibid.* Special Orders No. 136, A&IGO, June 11, 1864.

<sup>16</sup>O'Hara to Breckinridge, Feb. 20, 1865, in *CMSR*, 12th Alabama Infantry, RG 109, NA.



out of it exactly what he was at the beginning, a captain of regular infantry with no command. For O'Hara, the great opportunity of the war for fame and glory had ended in another failure. There is no record of further intemperance by O'Hara after the dismal affair at Fort Chadbourne. But the professional soldiers of that period were few in number and long in memory and it is quite possible that one bad mistake forever ruined O'Hara's military career.

At the end of the war O'Hara returned to Columbus and taught school for awhile. He then entered the cotton commission business, but his bad luck still held as the business soon failed. Apparently giving up the struggle, O'Hara moved to the plantation of his sister near Guerrryton, Alabama, where he died on June 7, 1867. He was buried in Linwood Cemetery, Columbus, but in 1873 his body was removed to Frankfort by the State of Kentucky and placed to rest near the scene of his one great success.<sup>17</sup>

Theodore O'Hara has passed into romantic legend, leaving behind one enduring memento—"The Bivouac of the Dead." Forgotten is the real man and his years of agonizing frustration. Perhaps one can find no better symbol of the Lost Cause—a man of ability and talent with dreams of great achievement who struggled long and hard and in the end failed. Despite his failure, Theodore O'Hara will remain a part of the Southern heritage.

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<sup>17</sup>Hollingsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-421.



## MIGRATION PATTERNS OF ALABAMA'S POPULATION, 1850 AND 1860

*by*

*Tommy W. Rogers*

By experience and tradition citizens of the United States have moved freely across state lines. Internal migration has played a tremendously important part in the economic, social, and political development of the country. Few issues in American history have generated more interest than the progressively westward movement of the frontier and its effect on the nation's culture.

Census information on the nativity of the native-born, free population was initially gathered in the census of 1850. This feature was inaugurated in order to determine the amount of movement of the native population from one state to another. Although these statistics do not account for the gross number of migrant persons, they do show the net result of population movement at the time of enumeration. Since they indicate both the direction and intensity of interstate migration patterns, these statistics are of considerable value for the information they provide on the historic movements of the native population from one state to another within the United States.

As of 1850 there were 321,000 free persons living in the United States who had been born in Alabama. Of this number, 237,500 or three-fourths still lived in the state, while 83,400 or one-fourth had migrated from Alabama to other states. At the same time, there were 182,500 persons living in Alabama who were born in other states.<sup>1</sup> Thus nearly forty-five percent of the native born free population residing in the state at the time of the 1850 census were in-migrants to Alabama from other states.

In the upper South soil depletion and erosion was well under way by the 1820's. The resulting decrease in agricultural

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<sup>1</sup>All figures refer to free persons who were born within the United States. They are not inclusive of immigrants from foreign countries. State of birth data were not collected for the foreign population.

productivity was reflected in the large net out-migration of free population, especially small pioneer minded farmers, in a continuing westward movement to the virgin cotton lands in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and further west.<sup>2</sup> The population of North Carolina had been on the move southward since the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The movement of population out of South Carolina between 1820 and 1860 was one of the largest ever experienced in so small an area in so short a period.<sup>4</sup> By 1860 two-thirds of all whites born in South Carolina had moved to the other states.<sup>5</sup>

By the third decade of the nineteenth century the presence of contracting productivity and increasing population was resulting in a heavy out-migration from Georgia.<sup>6</sup> An 1827 visitor in Georgia reported "hordes of cotton planters from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, with large gangs of negroes bound for Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; 'where the cotton land is not worn out.'"<sup>7</sup>

Nearly three-fourths (136,200) of the 182,500 persons who had moved into Alabama from other areas were from the three states of Georgia (59,000), South Carolina (48,700), and North Carolina (28,500). Migrants from these three states, coupled with those from Tennessee (22,550) and Virginia

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<sup>2</sup>M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (New York: American Economic Association, 1897), 49-50; Anthony Tang, *Economic Development in the Southern Piedmont* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 22-27.

<sup>3</sup>G. G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 38-41, 697-698.

<sup>4</sup>Francis Lieber, *Slavery, Population, and the Yeomanry* (New York: Wescott, 1863), 3-5; Julian J. Petty, "Population," *South Carolina: Economic and Social Conditions*, ed. W. H. Callcott (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), 31; Alfred Smith, *Economic Readjustment of an Old Cotton State* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1958), 19.

<sup>5</sup>Harry Hammond, *South Carolina* (Charleston: Walker, Evans, Upwell, Printers, 1883), 390.

<sup>6</sup>James C. Bonner, "Agricultural Adjustment in Ante-Bellum Georgia," *Georgia History and Government* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1940), 125.

<sup>7</sup>Ulrich B. Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier Documents* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 284-285.

(10,400), accounted from more than ninety percent of all in-migrants. Fully forty percent of the native-born, free population of Alabama in 1850 had come to Alabama from one of these five states. Lesser numbers of in-migrants, varying from three from Michigan to 2,850 from Mississippi, came from every state in the union with the exception of California.

Between 1850 and 1860 Alabama, along with Indiana, Louisiana, and Mississippi, became a migrative rather than a receiving area. Although there were 59,000 more persons living in Alabama in 1860 who were born in other states than there were persons living in other states who were born in Alabama, this balance of net in-migration was due to the large influx of persons who had moved into the state prior to 1850.<sup>8</sup> Movement between 1850 and 1860 resulted in a net migration loss of 40,000 persons during the ten year interval.<sup>9</sup>

Of the 457,750 free persons born in Alabama who were living in the United States in 1860, 320,000 or seventy percent were still living in the state. Nevertheless, nearly forty percent of the total number of free persons residing in Alabama in 1860 were migrants from other states. Thirty percent of the population born in Alabama were out-migrants from Alabama to other states.

Areas of primary destination for migrants leaving Alabama during the 1850's were Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. These four states accounted for more than three-fourths of all out-migrants in 1850 and nearly eighty percent of all out-migrants in 1860. In 1850 over half of the out-migrants from Alabama were residing in Mississippi. By 1860, however, there were less than 5,000 more out-migrants from Alabama living in Mississippi than there had been ten years earlier, while there was an increase of more than 20,000 out-migrants

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<sup>8</sup>It was not until the census of 1880 that the total number of persons who were born in Alabama and had moved to other states exceeded the total number who had moved into Alabama from other states. Alabama Business Research Council, *Transition in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1962), 16.

<sup>9</sup>U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Population of the U. S. in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), xxxiii.

from Alabama to Texas. Texas received the bulk of the out-migrants who left Alabama during the fifties, with lesser streams going to Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and California.

Some 75,000 persons left Georgia for other areas between 1850 and 1860.<sup>10</sup> That a large number of these persons moved to Alabama is evidenced by the fact that the largest influx of migrants to Alabama during the decade were out-migrants from Georgia. The 78,900 persons living in Alabama who were born in Georgia represented an increase of almost 20,000 persons since the enumeration of 1850. Although the number of in-migrants to Alabama from the Carolinas decreased by 8,500 persons during the 1850's, persons who had been born in Georgia and the Carolinas still accounted for three-fourths of all persons who had come to Alabama from other states.

Nearly forty-five percent of the 420,000 native-born, free persons who were living in Alabama at the time of the census of 1850 had moved into Alabama from other states. Three-fourths of the in-migrants came from Georgia and the Carolinas, while these three states plus Tennessee and Virginia supplied more than ninety percent of the in-migrants who had moved into Alabama from other states and accounted for forty percent of Alabama's free population.

During the decade of the fifties more people moved out of Alabama to other states than moved into Alabama from outside the state. The net loss of out-migrants from Alabama between 1850 and 1860 was some 40,000 persons. Whereas most out-migrants had settled in Mississippi in 1850, the greater part of the out-migrants from Alabama between 1850 and 1860 moved to Texas, with lesser numbers moving to Arkansas, Louisiana, and California.

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<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, xxxiv.



APPENDIX TABLE I: NATIVITY OF THE FREE POPULATION,  
ALABAMA, 1850\*

Area	No. of In-Migrants to Alabama	No. of Out-Migrants from Alabama	Exchange
Arkansas	91	11,250	—11,159
California	—	631	— 631
Connecticut	612	74	+ 538
Delaware	73	4	+ 69
Florida	1,060	2,340	— 1,280
Georgia	58,997	3,154	+55,843
Illinois	114	1,335	— 1,221
Indiana	93	395	— 302
Iowa	7	180	— 173
Kentucky	2,694	792	+ 1,902
Louisiana	628	7,346	— 6,718
Maine	215	6	+ 209
Maryland	757	51	+ 706
Mass.	654	71	+ 583
Michigan	3	19	— 16
Mississippi	2,852	34,047	—31,195
Missouri	158	2,067	— 1,909
N. Hamp.	151	13	+ 138
N. Jersey	271	26	+ 235
New York	1,443	184	+ 1,259
N. Carolina	28,521	131	+28,390
Ohio	276	209	+ 67
Penn.	876	87	+ 789
S. Carolina	48,663	225	+48,438
R. Island	74	13	+ 61
Tennessee	22,541	6,398	+16,143
Texas	55	12,040	—11,985
Vermont	155	11	+ 144
Virginia	10,387	92	+10,295
Wisconsin	3	49	— 46
District of Columbia	66	45	+ 21
Territories (a)	—	93	— 93

\*Source: J. B. DeBow, **Compendium of the Seventh Census** (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, Public Printer, 1854)

(a) Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah.

APPENDIX TABLE II: NATIVITY OF THE FREE POPULATION,  
ALABAMA, 1860\*

Area	No. of In-Migrants to Alabama	No. of Out-Migrants from Alabama	Exchange
Arkansas	343	24,443	—24,100
California	2	1,382	— 1,380
Connecticut	604	107	+ 497
Delaware	47	6	+ 41
Florida	1,644	4,478	— 3,104
Georgia	83,517	4,628	+78,889
Illinois	224	1,565	— 1,341
Indiana	186	358	— 172
Iowa	23	214	— 191
Kansas	22	240	— 218
Kentucky	1,966	920	+ 1,046
Louisiana	1,149	12,078	—10,929
Maine	272	7	+ 265
Maryland	683	46	+ 637
Mass.	753	112	+ 641
Michigan	23	40	— 17
Minnesota	7	48	— 41
Mississippi	4,848	38,878	—34,030
Missouri	191	3,473	— 3,282
N. Hamp.	170	21	+ 149
N. Jersey	231	61	+ 170
New York	1,848	410	+ 1,438
N. Carolina	23,504	484	+23,020
Ohio	265	345	— 80
Oregon	—	110	— 110
Penn.	989	139	+ 850
R. Island	132	10	+ 122
S. Carolina	45,185	309	+44,876
Tennessee	19,139	8,015	+11,124
Texas	275	34,193	—33,918
Vermont	174	86	+ 88
Virginia	7,598	177	+ 7,421
Wisconsin	5	69	— 64
District of Columbia	68	72	— 4
Territories (a)	—	280	— 280

\*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, **Population of the U.S. in 1860** (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864).

(a) Colorado, Dakota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington.

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“POCKET DIARY FOR 1861”*by James Osgood Andrew Story**edited by Dr. Llerena Friend*

On January 11, 1861, and on 285 other days during that first year of the War Between the States, James Osgood Andrew Story of Southern University, Greensboro, Alabama, made entries in a small leather-bound “Pocket Diary for 1861.” Essentially a personal and family document, the little diary is also at least a fragment of social and institutional and Confederate history.

Story’s record shows something of the closeness of ties of a large farmer-preacher family that belonged to what Frank Lawrence Owsley describes as the “Plain Folk of the Old South.” It indicates the course of study, the literary societies, the reading habits, the social life, and the extra-curricular activities of boys in a denominational college of the time. The persistent, if unconscious, theme is the impact of secession and the war on family, community, and college.

Young Story died in a Confederate camp near Mobile on August 23, 1862. His diary was kept by a sister and has been treasured by her children.

Diodorus Sicules, the Greek historian, in Book XVI, Chapter 1 of his *Biblioteca historia*, discussed the content of a “Good Historical Subject” and stated:

In all historical works, the writers should aim at embracing in their respective volumes transactions...which are self-contained from beginning to end. This is the method which is found, on examination, to present History to the reader in the clearest and most easily remembered form. Incomplete transactions, with no continuity between the end and the beginning, interrupt the play of intellectual curiosity in the serious reader; while transactions embracing a continuity of action right down to the conclusion supply a narrative which constitutes a whole in itself.

In itself then, Jimmy Story’s little 1861 diary is not history, for it is without beginning or end, and on occasion it is without

continuity. Furthermore it is not literature, and it was never his intent that it be published. If he had considered his jottings to be authorship, surely there would have been some striving for style, some consistency in spelling and punctuation, and more use of descriptive terms than his overworked "very pleasant." His is a true diary—daily and personal—and not a memoir. Under the MISCELLANEOUS section at the end of the small volume he makes one entry: "This diary commences Friday, Jan. 11th, 1861...not recording the many incidents which happened beforehand, has to some extent caused regret on my part." The reader also regrets, for what he did record, while essentially a personal and family document, is also at least a fragment of social and institutional and Confederate history.

The entries are made in a little leather-bound "Pocket Diary for 1861." Measuring three inches wide by four and a half inches tall, the book has a small pocket at the back and a holder for a tiny pencil. A flap fits into a narrow strip across the front. Ownership is indicated on the decorative end leaf with the inscription: J O A Story, Sou University, Belles Lettres Society, Jan 1861. Again at the top of the title page he wrote: James O A Story, Southern University, Greensboro Ala. Jan 1861. The title page reads:

Philadelphia  
Pocket Diary  
for  
1861  
Containing Calendar  
Interest and Time Tables  
Published Annually  
For the Trade

The calendar and tables [rising and setting of the sun, moon rising, and high water levels] occupy some fifteen pages. Each blank page was divided into thirds, allowing a maximum of eight three-inch lines for the daily note. On 286 days during the first year of the Civil War, the college youth of 1861 made his comment, two-thirds of the time in ink, in a neat legible hand. While he was at home on vacation during the summer

and early fall, a pencil had to suffice for his notes. The blanks in the record occur chiefly when he was ill during July and August and again in November as the year rounded to its close.

The daily confidences to the diary were more consistent than were the entries under BILLS PAYABLE, totalling \$6.25 in January and \$14.35 in February. The only entries under RECEIVABLE were an algebraic formula and a note on Latin—"Quales denotes the quality; quantis denotes the quantity."

The diary is no Christmas gift; there are no New Year's Resolutions. No, the first entry connotes a sense of historical significance and a feel of urgency to perpetuate in writing the "excitement and joy throughout the state" of Alabama when it, on January 11, became the fourth state to secede from the United States. If the first note is that of an ardent Southerner, the second entry is that of a fraternigy man (in spirit if not in actual nature of organization) as it records the regular Saturday meeting of the Belles Lettres Society, the first secret club organized on the Southern University campus. His roommate makes an appearance on the third day, a Sunday, practically the only Sunday without a listing of church attendance and officiating ministers, but on Sunday, January 13, 1861, it rained at Greensboro, and the roads were bad. The fourth entry brings in family with a letter to his father; the fifth gets him to college classes and a lecture on Greek prose. Such is the pattern of the diary. What does it reveal of the writer?

James Osgood Andrew Story was the seventh child and the fourth son of a Methodist minister who named his oldest son Calvin, the second son for himself, and the other three boys for Methodist preachers. The large family, which kept in close touch with a frequent exchange of letters, belonged to what Frank Lawrence Owsley describes as the "Plain Folk of the Old South," a closely knit group in which "the whole family worked together, hunted together, went to church and parties together, and expected to be buried together and to come to judgment together on the Last Day." The letter-writing family was "kindly affectioned one to the other."

When Jimmy had entered Southern University in the fall of Oct. 3, 1860, the Story family was living at Cotton Valley

in Southern Macon County, Alabama. In January, 1861, they had moved the short distance to La Place, eight miles west of Tuskegee, where the father "was very much pleased." Early entries record correspondence with Brother Gorge, two years older than Jimmy; with Sister Lou [Lucinda] (Mrs. E. B. Norton), six years Jimmy's senior and the wife of the Methodist minister at Oak Bowery, Alabama; with Sister Fanny, a fourteen-year old, and with his oldest brother Calvin. Brother George sent a welcome gift of five dollars, and Sister Sallie (Mrs. Wilbur Fisk Perry who had recently moved to Mississippi) sent a present by her brother-in-law Bart, who became Jimmy's roommate. When Jimmy joined the church during a revival in April, 1861, it was to his mother that he wrote of his conversion, and there is never any intimation that she is a stepmother. In the early days after the outbreak of the war, he worried over the absence of mail from home and reported with relief on April 21 that he had letters from father, mother, and sister with "some good advice." The nature of the advice he does not disclose—nor the tenor of his own reply in "a long letter to Father." The parents were not well in May, but family news came from teen-age Fannie and from Sister Mat, Mrs. John U. Hoffman, who lived on a farm near Cotton Valley and the old family home place. Warm ties embraced all the in-laws, and young Jimmy corresponded with Sister Lou's husband, Rev. Norton. After Mrs. Norton's death in November 7, 1861, he welcomed his brother-in-law to Greensboro for the annual meeting of the Alabama Conference and listened with more than casual interest to the sermon which Norton was to deliver at the Conference, especially important because he was to come up for ordination as an Elder.

When vacation arrived in July and the young collegian reached home, he used considerable restraint to note: "I with family rejoiced at meeting." Others of the clan, including the Hoffmans and Aunt Catherine and the Nortons and their baby son all came visiting while the "college boy" was using his time to teach his younger brother and sisters. Such business was "very pleasant," and he thought he did "tolerably well" as he recorded: "Besides giving instruction I have an excellent chance to study." Pleasure in teaching, in admiration of the beauties of the new farm, and in visits with long-time friends at Cotton



Valley was marred by illness in the family and tortured suspense when news came of the Battle of Bull Run, for Brother George was there. George was still at Manassas when Jimmy wrote him in September. Brother Elias was not a letter writer, but he took his younger brother to church with him and in to Tuskegee to equip him to go back to college. Young John Wesley, two years Jimmy's junior, was the one who took his brother to catch the train for the first lap of his trip back to school. The final family entry comes the day after an unhappy Christmas in 1861 and sounds much like any college student of earlier and later days: "Received a letter from Father tonight containing \$25 . . . . I was mighty glad to get it."

Non-family correspondence indicates that Jimmy's ties with friends and former teachers were also close and affectionate. One of his frequent correspondents was Dr. Joseph Hamilton of the St. Francis Street Methodist Church in Mobile. He records a letter to Dr. Richard H. Rivers of La Grange College—and to the editor of the Tuskegee paper, and there was an exchange with his teacher and classmates at Cotton Valley. Vacation time meant recording of new addresses of friends made at college.

What do the impressions of a son of the Plain Folk show of college life in the Old South? In Owsley's discussion of the "Role of the Plain Folk" he comments on their respect for education as a means of obtaining success and observes that they had relatively more schooling than has generally been supposed and that "in comparison with the situation in most countries of the world at the time the Southern folk were one of the most literate major groups of the entire world." Literacy of course is not education but, according to Owsley,

if college attendance is any test of an educated people, the South had more educated men and women in proportion to population than the North, or any other part of the world. According to the 1860 census, out of a white population of 7,400,000 there were 25,882 students enrolled in Southern colleges, whereas in the North, with a white population of over 18,000,000 there were only 27,408 students in college; and quite a large number of these were from the

South. That is, there was one college student for each 247 white persons in the South and one in 703 in the North.

Southern University opened its doors at Greensboro, Alabama, in October 3, 1859, and enrolled fifty collegiate students during its first session. Young Story, who had attended the Granberry Academy back in Macon County, was matriculated at the beginning of the school's second year. The year probably started with an increased student body, but by the end of the first term, only fifty-nine remained. Quite a social being, Story recorded the names of the boys who visited in his room, the new students enrolled, his own birthday and that of roommate, his writing in a friend's "Autograph" book, the student Shanghai courts that were great fun, his meals with friends in town, the receiving of a comic valentine, and the practicing of orations in a near-by grove or in one of the Greensboro cemeteries. His nearest approach to gossip was report of a student fight on January 22—no reason given—and a comment on February 8 that "Spillman says J.M. a rascal." A *rascal* got identification by initials only. After the fall of Fort Sumter in April, 1861, the decimation of the student body increased and Story noted sadly that "our college is not very flourishing . . . students leaving most every week." His own first term was ending when he commented on his eighteenth birthday: "Have remained till this day with much pleasure and anxious expectation for the future." When the time for return for his second year at Southern rolled around, the war had already made its economic effect so that money was so scarce that he feared he could not get enough to start for college and grieved lest he fall behind his class. He wasn't well physically, but chiefly he was "effected smartly by the Blues." The family managed to find the cash for the journey back to a school reduced to thirty-three students, and "speakers poorer than the year before," but he was "determined to study more."

Southern University's course of study provided for chairs in Ancient Languages, Moral Philosophy, Mathematics, Biblical Literature, Modern Languages, Law, and Natural Philosophy. There was no formal instruction in English, but the work in foreign languages was expected to train for proficiency in using English. Much importance was attached to public speak-

ing, and each student was required to speak before the student body and faculty, freshmen and sophomores using declamations and upper classmen preparing original compositions.

In his own words, Jimmy Story was only "a tolerable student." If any one of the professors, (and the faculty was a strong one for an infant institution), made a particular impression on him as a teacher, he made slight note of the fact in his written record. Faculty members are *dramatis personae* chiefly as they call on him for a recitation or fail to meet class. His courses included algebra, Greek, Latin, and history. When he recorded that he didn't recite well in Greek, he "had an excuse." In his final examination in algebra he "stood well on the first part but badly on the last." His first recitation in Homer "was done with some ease." It took hard study to get "tolerably well acquainted with the Binomial Theorem." He got enthusiastic about one composition, to the extent of more than three pages, but does not establish the fact that it was the essay he was writing on "Ought the Seceding States Go Back into the Union?"

After his conversion during the annual revival, Jimmy could record that "I am getting along very well in religious matters," and he was greatly pleased when Dr. Edward Wadsworth, his history professor, gave him a present of a Bible. As his acquaintance widened in Greensboro and the spring fancies of an eighteen-year old absorbed him, comments on classes gave way to notes on his diversions. On June 26 he wrote: "I am having a very good time as the Examination is going on," but earlier entries had recorded that he did not take his examination in Greek because he intended to "go over it again nxt year." In algebra he was not examined because "I had not studied it enough."

Aside from conventional assignments, was he well informed? The little diary reveals no broad culture, no wide reading, and no thought of travel, but the lad's background and the temper of the times would have precluded travel even had it been possible for the son of a middle-class farmer with eight unmarried children. Of current political moves he was well aware, and perhaps from wishful thinking, he often an-

anticipated the event as he reported on secession in Tennessee before it occurred and that of Maryland which never took place. His statement of S. A. Douglas' death some days before the Senator's actual demise may not come in that category. He received and read newspapers: the Knoxville *Whig*, the *Tuskegee Republican*, the *Southern Teacher*, and the *Southern Field and Fireside* as well as the local *Alabama Beacon*, which, on occasion, he marked and sent to correspondents. Such lectures as were given in Greensboro he attended, be they on phrenology, the Confederate Loan, "The Sovereigns of England," or by a Catholic priest. As a minister's son in a Methodist college and as an enthusiastic new church member, he recorded his daily Bible reading. *The Chain of Sacred Wonders* was "a grand work"; the *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* and *A Plea for Mathematics* were probably assigned reading. While on vacation he read *Plutarch's Lives*. William Cowper is the only poet he mentions. As librarian of the Belles Lettres Literary Society, he found his work or arranging the books tedious but interesting.

The Belles Lettres Society, with its weekly Saturday meeting, absorbed much of his time and interest. Often the members gathered after its sessions to rehash society activities or talk of new members, the "prosperous condition" of the organization, or their assigned duties. Sometimes the personnel adjourned for a "Shanghai court." On Washington's Birthday, the weekly meeting was moved up to Friday and ladies were visitors for the debate between representatives of the Belles Lettres and its rival Clariosophic Society. During the first week in April the society's usual meeting was supplanted by the prayer meeting which was an accompaniment of the annual revival. Mention of the society is casual also while the Quarterly Conference was in session, for there was a young lady to be squired to church. In May, Story was elected secretary of Belles Lettres and after reading his first minutes declared himself "very much pleased with the business." Society meeting was especially interesting on June 8, when the subject for debate was "Is it right for Kentucky to assume an armed neutrality?" At the last regular meeting of the year Reverend Thomas O. Summers, one of the college trustees, became an honorary member of Belles Lettres. When classes were re-



sumed for the fall session of 1861/1862, the first business of Belles Lettres was the choosing of new members and planning a new rostrum. The rostrum must have been a necessity, for the meeting of November 2 was called off because it was not finished. On November 30, 1861, young Story was honored by being elected to be the speaker for the next Washington Birthday open meeting.

What else in the way of diversion did he consider worthy of mention? There were visits to the near-by military camp, drills of the guard, crowning of the May Queen, concerts, tableaux put on by the ladies of the Female Academy, dinner with friends, walks to the railroad and the grove, gathering a bait of plums, a trip to Walton's fish pond, gathering chestnuts, and singings in the homes in Greensboro and at the church, where his desire to talk to the ladies beside him "was a great preventative" [to singing]. Chiefly, measured by frequency of mention, there was church and there were the girls—in his book—"the young ladies." He dined with friends, he supped, he went to tea; what he wore or what he ate was too inconsequential to be put on record.

As much of his existence as clothing or food was going to church. The diary records the meeting of a Quarterly Conference, an Annual Conference, and the accelerated religious pace of two revivals in addition to the regular two or three services for each Sunday. There is never a disparaging criticism of a sermon; the eloquence of Dr. William Wightman, the college chancellor he especially commends. As he rode with Henry Urquhart for three sermons on one Sunday to the Negroes in Greene County, this son of a minister who had worn himself out in a Negro mission, had difficulty in finding his words and wrote: "Viewed rich plantations which was with pleasure that such happened." When there were Roman Catholic lectures in town, he attended but left no comment. On one Sunday night, curiosity and his Methodist rearing were betrayed when he wrote: "I neglected to go to the class meeting but as I had never seen any Baptists baptized I witnessed it for the first [time]. I have always had an aversion to such." The great church festivals of Easter and Christmas had no particular observance at the college, and the omission of one peculiarly

Southern observance is pointed up in its absence in war times: "Poorest Christmas I ever saw, only with the negroes. I haven't heard a gun fire."

The persistent, the recurring theme of the diary is secession and the war and their effects. The first note is that of "excitement and joy" as Alabama secedes—to be followed by Georgia, the native state of his father. His eighteenth birthday, January 20, is fair and bright, but there are "anxious expectations for the future." The next week brings news that Louisiana has seceded and "no further news concerning public affairs," but the student practices drawing a "marshall" design and notes that "during the last three weeks fifteen students have gone home & others are contemplating it." The usual significance of February 22 was heightened when the excited citizenry of Greensboro fired the cannon to welcome a military company from Fort Morgan. On a fair and bright March 4 the record went: "Abe Lincoln takes place; much excitement throughout the country in respect to it." Both town and gown knew more excitement the next day when the college had a party for the Light Artillery Guard and Chancellor Wightman made an eloquent address—"a time long to be remembered by the young ladies & gentlemen."

The entry for April 12 ended: "Times seem warlike," and news traveled fast enough for the next day's note to include: "tonight the inhabitants are somewhat appeased by hearing that Ft. Sumter was taken." Tension and enthusiasm mounted for several days as citizens speculated over United States policy, a local military company was organized, and sky rockets and a fifty-gun salute greeted the word of Virginia secession. A home-sick lad wrote of his uneasiness over lack of mail from home, and prayer meeting was disturbed by shouts when the stage brought in the war news. Students began to learn military tactics from Professor Gatch, and the college company offered its services for the protection of Greensboro when the Light Artillery Guards should leave. Every mail brought "direful news"; attendance at the Belles Lettres anniversary meeting was small because of the excitement; the local military company was ordered to Pensacola and departed "with cheering hearts in defense of the S. Confederacy." A less cheerful heart



recorded for the diary: "Our college is not very flourishing. Students are leaving most every week. I do not think it will survive long unless the times change." After the Southern Congress declared war, there was the comment that all would have to go home soon and the plaintive: "My diary suffers for want of good news. I have heard so much of war that I am tired of it." That was on May 9; on May 16 he joined the military company at the college but became ill as a result of the drilling.

During his vacation, Jimmy visited the old home place at Cotton Valley but found that "It looks rather desolated and most all the boys have gone to the war in Virginia." His brother George was included, but casualties at Manassas included only one of the Tuskegee Zouaves. Back at Greensboro in the fall, the enrollment was reduced and a regular military company was organized. The faculty decided to have prayer in the chapel every evening, but kerosene oil was so scarce that the night preaching service had to be moved up to four in the afternoon. On November 15, the Confederacy fasted in accordance with a proclamation by President Jefferson Davis. Into the introspection induced by the national act of penance came the news to Story of the death of his Sister Lou. He was "sad-worn down." There were forty-seven more days in the year, but the diary had only twenty-one more entries. A chill had put the writer to bed part of the time. The annual conference met, and the college declared a holiday. When a dreary Christmas Eve and Christmas came, his health was such that he did not return to classes. On December 29, he was able to attend church, but he penned no New Year's Resolutions on January 1.

Jimmy Story does not seem to conform to any pattern. If he had the "bad boy" traits often attributed to preachers' sons, he didn't include them in his jottings. Campus antics of antebellum college days had not had time to become traditional at Southern University, at least not in the Story version. He became a Johnny Reb without the usual accompaniments of many of the rebel privates—profanity, gambling, drunkenness, or obscenity. Signs of a sense of humor are slight too. Provincial he may have been, but prejudice was slight. The term "Yankee" he uses but once.

On the day of the Southern Declaration of War, his fear was less for the ultimate outcome than for the demise of his college. The ending of the daily entry was not completely positive: "God may be on our side yet." His own positive declaration came the next day: "My intention is to endeavor to increase in the strength of religion and live happy. Above all things I desire to be a good man and serve God."

On April 25, 1861, James Osgood Andrew Story wrote: "Rumors of war are now passing through the country. We live in a fearful time and if we are not stripped in youth this shall be remembered to tell to our children." He died in a Confederate camp near Mobile on August 23, 1862. His diary has told his story of those times to his sister's children and grandchildren.

1861

Jan. 11—Friday

This is a day of much excitement and joy throughout the state as it is the day it seceded from the United States, which is the forth [*sic*] that has done so. S.C., Fla., Miss., Ala.<sup>1</sup>

Jan. 12—Saturday

After returning from a meeting of the Belles Lettres Society,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>South Carolina seceded and proclaimed herself an independent commonwealth on December 20, 1860. Mississippi seceded on January 9 and Florida on January 10, 1861. The Alabama State Convention met on January 7 and passed the ordinance of secession on January 11 by a vote of 61-39. The students at Southern University, a Methodist college in Greene County in the Alabama "Black Belt," had doubtless followed the progress of the Convention with keen interest, for the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting at Montgomery in December, 1860, had resolved that the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States "amounted to a declaration of hostility against the South and pledged their lives and fortunes for the defense of the state." Albert Burton Moore, *History of Alabama* (1934), 418-420.

<sup>2</sup>The *Belles Lettres Society* was created on the Southern University campus on October 28, 1859, only twenty-five days after the opening of the institution. Its five charter members stated the reason for its organization as "the necessity of cultivating those faculties of the mind uneducated by collegiate studies and by the necessity of general reading

read mostly through the evening. Was visited by H. H. Kav.<sup>3</sup> and C. B. Clarke.<sup>4</sup>

### Jan. 13—Sunday

A steady rain visited the earth most all day. Roads bad—the birthday of my room-mate, J. H. Howard,<sup>5</sup> now twenty years of age. Also my classmate.

### Jtn. 14—Monday

Wrote letter to Father<sup>6</sup> at his new home, La Place, Ala.,<sup>7</sup> where

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for acquiring liberal and intelligent views.” On November 3, 1859, eight additional members were unanimously elected. The number increased to twenty during the first college year. The Story diary is a fair record of the society during its second year. Minutes for April 27, 1862, read: “The society met today, consisting of Messrs. Urquhart, McKensey, Jackson, and Drake (the remaining members being then in the army of their country).” Belles Lettres and its sister society, the Clariosophic, are said to have “played an important part in the life of the institution for a long time and were, in a large measure, responsible for the success of many alumni in public life. See Daniel P. Christenberry, *The Semi-Centennial History of the Southern University, 1856-1906*, pp. 67-74 and Wilbur Dow Perry, *A History of Birmingham-Southern College, 1856-1931*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>3</sup>Hubbard Hinde Kavanaugh, Jr. from Falmouth, Kentucky, was matriculated at Southern University in 1859. The Census from Greene County, Alabama, for 1860 lists him as a student, aged 22. In 1863 he was elected a local preacher by the Alabama Conference, meeting at Columbus, Mississippi. William Warren Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War* lists H. H. Kavanaugh of the Mobile Conference as a chaplain in the Confederate Army. It is likely that H. H. Jr. was the chaplain rather than his uncle, Bishop H. H. Kavanaugh. For Bishop Kavanaugh see A. H. Redford, *Life and Times of H. H. Kavanaugh, D. D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.

<sup>4</sup>Christopher B. Clarke from Bridgeville, Pickens County, Alabama (aged 17 in 1860), was one of the organizing members of Belles Lettres.

<sup>5</sup>John H. Howard of Linden, Alabama, is on the college roll for 1860.

<sup>6</sup>Elias Wells Story was born in Warren County, Georgia, on April 15, 1807. His family lived in Jackson, Missouri, from 1810 to about 1825, when they returned to Georgia. E. W. Story was converted and joined the Methodist Church at McDonough Camp Ground in Henry County, Georgia, September 27, 1827, and on November 29, 1834, was licensed to preach by the Quarterly Conference of Zebulon Circuit, Columbus District, Georgia Conference. He served the Taswell, Newman, and Waynesboro circuits in Georgia from 1836 to 1839, when he was transferred to the Alabama Conference. He had been ordained a deacon by

he has just moved where he is very much pleased.

Jan. 15—Tuesday

A bright and fair day as ever was though very cold. Prof. Casey<sup>8</sup> lectured on Greek Prose.

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Bishop James Osgood Andrew at Eatonton, Georgia, in 1838, and in 1841 was made an elder by Bishop Andrew at Selma, Alabama. Story's charges in Alabama included Lafayette, 1840-1842, Russell in 1843, Tuskegee Circuit in 1844, and Killabee (or Calebee) or Tuskegee Colored Mission in 1845. The work at the colored mission was difficult, and under it Story's health broke so that he was superannuated in 1846. The minutes of the Alabama Conference indicate that in this relationship "he walked blamelessly" until his death on December 18, 1888.

Story's first wife, Ann Hill, had nine children, five sons and four daughters. The sons were all named for ministers. James Osgood Andrew, the fourth son and writer of the diary, was named for Bishop Andrew, first Georgian elevated to the Bishopric, who had ordained his father and who was the principal character in the slavery controversy in the Methodist General Conference of 1844, which resulted in the division of American Methodism and the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. After his first wife's death on April 29, 1851, E. W. Story married Mary Emily Patterson on October 7, 1852. They had three daughters: Mary Taylor, Emily Catherine, and Julia Owen. Story's third wife, who survived him was Harriet E. Tenison, whom he married on October 15, 1867.

The life-long friend who wrote Story's obituary for the Conference Minutes described him as a man of "quaint ways, sharp wit, clear common sense, fiery temper, stubborn will, intense zeal, untiring labors; all pervaded and controlled by an Elijah-like faith and courage." J. W. Rush, "Memoirs," *Minutes of the Alabama Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Greenville, Alabama, December 4-9, 1889*, p. 31; Story Family Bible; Anson West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 494-495.

<sup>7</sup>LaPlace, Alabama, is in Macon County about eight miles south and west of Tuskegee. E. W. Story lived in Macon County from the time he joined the Alabama Conference in 1840, but prior to 1861, the family farm was southeast of La Place at Cotton Valley.

<sup>8</sup>Oscar F. Casey was born in Newberry, South Carolina, in 1824 and died at Auburn, Alabama, in 1897. He graduated at LaGrange College, Alabama, in 1849 and taught mathematics and classical languages at LaGrange from 1849 to 1859, when he became Professor of Ancient Languages at Southern University. According to Christenberry, "the old boys say that Professor Casey would repeat Virgil page by page for their amusement as well as for their delectation." Christenberry, *History of Southern University*, 24, 26.

Jan. 16—Wednesday

Rec'd letter from Bro. George<sup>9</sup> containing five dollars. No news from home. Called on in Greek by Prof. Casey. Never recited well. Had an excuse.

Jan. 17—Thursday

Late this evening rec'd letter from Dr. J. Hamilton<sup>10</sup> of Mobile. He gave me much instruction and advice, particularly about "College Rebellions" such as happened here Christmas.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>*George Chappell Story*, third son of E. W. Story, was born February 13, 1841, and was named for John D. Chappell, who, like Story, had once been a member of the Georgia Conference and was one of the first "tenters" when Tuskegee Campground was established in 1838. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 500. On November 1, 1866, George C. Story married Josephine Elizabeth Noble, sister of Rev. J. O. Noble, (b. 1848), who died in 1867. George C. Story died July 1, 1903.

<sup>10</sup>*Jefferson Hamilton, D. D.*, was born in Massachusetts in 1805. According to O. P. Fitzgerald, "he was scholar, saint, good soldier of Jesus Christ" and "naturalized to the South at first contact." In 1843 Hamilton was sent to St. Francis Street Methodist Church in Mobile, where he was associated with Rev. Thomas O. Summers, with whom he worked on the committee to compile a new Methodist Hymnal. Hamilton represented the Alabama Conference in the General Methodist Conference in New York in 1844. At the Alabama Conference in 1860, he introduced a Resolution on Chaplains to protest inequalities in assignment in the United States Army, which had in its chaplains service sixteen Episcopalians, to two Methodists and one Presbyterian.

Hamilton was one of the original trustees of Southern University and after the retirement of C. C. Callaway served as a financial agent of the University and was successful in raising money for a dormitory which was named Hamilton Hall. He died at Opelika in 1874. Christenberry, *History of Southern University*, 28; O. P. Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers: A Life Study*, 166, 176; *Minutes of Alabama Conference*, 1860 and 1875.

Dr. Hamilton had been a long-time friend of the Story family and a visitor in the Story home. On May 30, 1859, he wrote in Sarah Jane Story's "Keep-Sake Album."

To Miss Sallie

Beauty of person is a talent, which may be useful;  
but beauty of mind and heart are of far higher value,  
as they bless mankind and glorify God.

<sup>11</sup>The "Rebellion" in this case seems to have resulted from the fact that the Christmas holiday was for one day only. As strange as that may seem to the college student of a century later, it was the rule and not the exception in 1860. According to James B. Sellars, "Student Life at the University of Alabama before 1860," *Alabama Review*, II, 283, at



Jan. 18—Friday

Georgia<sup>12</sup> seceded to day by a large majority. which makes the fifth out of the Union.

Jan. 19—Saturday

Mr. E. T. Portis<sup>13</sup> of Suggsville, Ala. joined the Belles Lettres Society today which makes 32. The S is in a very prosperous condition. I was appointed to read an essay. Spent the evening reading. Rec'd the Tuskegee Republican.

Jan. 20—Sunday

My birthday. Eighteen years constitutes my age. I entered the S.U.<sup>14</sup> in Oct. 1860. Have remained till this day with much

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the University of Alabama "Christmas was the only holiday recognized in the University calendar and it but grudgingly." Transportation facilities meant that the holiday had to be either one day or quite long.

If the Story diary is a fair picture of Southern University, student unruliness was practically non-existent. That may have been because of the extreme youth of the institution, the smallness of its student body, and the background of the boys. Trustee Hamilton may have been seeking to plant the seed of sage advice in fertile ground.

<sup>12</sup>The Georgia state convention met at Milledgeville on January 15. The separate secessionists and the co-operative secessionists battled for two days before the advocates of immediate secession secured passage of the secession ordinance by a vote of 208-89. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln*, II, 414-416.

<sup>13</sup>The name in the diary is E. T. Portis. The college roll for 1861 lists Ernest A. Portis. According to West, Suggsville, in Clarke County, had long been a Methodist center, a camp meeting being held there as early as 1817. Ira Portis, who located in the community in 1818 was the father of Solomon W. Portis and of John Wesley Portis, Methodist minister, lawyer, and colonel in the Confederate Army. J. W. Portis was on the commission appointed in 1854 to decide on the location of Southern University. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 471; Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 12.

<sup>14</sup>Southern University was incorporated by the General Assembly of Alabama in January 1856. The corner stone of the main building was laid on June 11, 1857, and the doors of the school were formally opened on October 3, 1859. Fifty students were matriculated for the first term. The tuition fee was twenty-five dollars per term; a contingent fee was two dollars; board for the session of two terms was a hundred and fifty dollars, including room and furniture. There were two graduates in 1860, four in 1861, and two in 1862, plus one Master's Degree. The War



pleasure and anxious expectations for the future. Heard Mr. Ramsey<sup>15</sup> preach at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. The day is fair and bright.

Jan. 21—Monday

Roaring thunders and heavy rains have visited us often times through the day. It still rains very hard tonight. Rei'd the S.F. and Fireside,<sup>16</sup> whiih rontains much information.

Jan. 22—Tuesday

While the Latin class was reciting this evening Messrs. G.W.

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Between the States blighted the young school. A few students matriculated each year despite the fact that the college had no formal opening. The faculty continued to hold their positions, sans classes and pay. At the end of the war, the original main building stood unharmed and debt free. During the difficulties of Reconstruction from 1865 to 1875, the college survived, but it was in a dying condition when Dr. Luther Martin Smith became chancellor in 1875. Peak enrollment of 238 was reached in 1889/1890. The North Alabama Conference was a joint owner of the institution from 1882 to 1898, when that conference established the North Alabama Conference College, which in 1906 became Birmingham College. World War I brought troubles to this new school as it did to Southern University. In 1918 the two schools were combined as Birmingham-Southern College. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 730; Christenberry, *The Semi-Centennial History of the Southern University, 1856-1906*; Perry, *A History of Birmingham-Southern College*.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas Yancey Ramsey, Methodist minister was born in South Carolina about 1820. He had been minister at Marion and Mobile in the Alabama Conference before 1859, when he was presiding elder of the Greensboro District. At the Conference meeting in 1859 he was one of the members of the Book and Tract Society. The Conference of 1860 assigned him to the church at Greensboro. In that Conference, Ramsey was chairman of the Legal Conference and had introduced the Resolution which stated that, while deploring the necessity for a separation from the Federal Union, the Conference felt "bound by honor and duty to move in harmony with the South in resisting Northern domination." Ramsey was one of the original trustees of Southern University. *Minutes of the Alabama Conference, 1860*.

<sup>16</sup>*The Southern Field and Fireside*, a weekly magazine of Augusta, Georgia, was owned by James Gardener and edited by William M. Mann. Regular features included poetry, stories, a Children's Column, personals, a section called "Fun, Fact, and Philosophy," columns on chess and horticulture and advertisements for planters, teachers, and new books. The issue for April 28, 1860, had excerpts from an article entitled "Slavery and the Methodist Church."

Cox<sup>17</sup> and Thos. C. Cowin<sup>18</sup> fought. after class was over they did the same outside of the campus. Much excitement Occurred. Wrote to Bro George at night.

Jan. 23—Wednesday

Rose this morning before day. Made a fire and studied my lessons for the day. After studying my lessons tonight for the morrow, I wrote to my sister Mrs. Norton,<sup>19</sup> in Oak Bowery,<sup>20</sup> Ala.

Jan. 24—Thursday

Cold and chilly winds have been blowing most of the day so rains. Went to my recitations regular and recited. Called on in History by Dr. Wadsworth.<sup>21</sup> Party at Gen. Mays<sup>22</sup> tonight.

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<sup>17</sup>George W. Cox and W. H. Cox of Columbus, Mississippi were enrolled as students in 1860.

<sup>18</sup>Thomas E. Cowin was one of the local Greensboro boys enrolled in 1860. He served in the Confederate Army and was imprisoned for a fight with Federal soldiers in Greensboro during Reconstruction. Cowin escaped from prison and returned home to operate the Greensboro Hotel. He died at Anniston in 1890 and was buried at Greensboro. W. E. W. Yerby, *History of Greensboro, Alabama, from Its Earliest Settlement*, 54.

<sup>19</sup>Lucinda Story Norton, second daughter of Elias W. Story, was born on September 21, 1837 and married Ethelbert Brinkley Norton on August 9, 1859.

<sup>20</sup>Oak Bowery is located in Chambers County near the Georgia state line. The conference of 1861 transferred Norton to Milton Circuit. Norton was a son of Rev. John Wesley Norton, (1794-1862). West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 286, 497.

<sup>21</sup>Edward Wadsworth was born in Newbern, North Carolina. He took his A. B. Degree at Randolph Macon in 1841 and was awarded the D. D. at Randolph-Macon and Emory Henry in 1847. From 1846 to 1852 he was president of Lagrange College; from 1853 to 1855 he was Professor of English at Nashville University, and he served as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Southern University from 1859 to 1871. Wadsworth was minister of the Greensboro Church in 1856-1857 and was made presiding elder of Greensboro Circuit in 1860. Wadsworth is described as one of the most interesting of the early members of the faculty with a "reputation for almost preternatural wisdom among the college boys." Fitzgerald describes him as "a Cavalier in courage, a Puritan in scrupulous piety, a precisionist in the professor's chair, a battery charged with evangelical power in the pulpit." He died at Greensboro in 1883. O. P. Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers: a Life-Study*, 172; Christenberry, *History of the Southern University*, 22; Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 27-28; Obituary in *Minutes of Alabama Conference*, 1883.

<sup>22</sup>General Patrick May, a veteran of the War of 1812, was a county

Several students have gone.

### Jan. 25—Friday

Constant rains during the day have caused it to be very unpleasant and cold. Recd. letter from my respected teacher, J.H.H. Granberry.<sup>23</sup> Spoke in the college chapel with some success. Dined at Mr. Tallman's.<sup>24</sup> Contracted to board with Rev. Ramsey.

### Jan. 26—Saturday

When I awoke this morning and looked out Greensboro<sup>25</sup> presented quite a picturesque appearance which was caused by the heavy snow which fell last night. The most beautiful day this year. The moon is now shining beautifully. Very cold weather. Diner with Russell.<sup>26</sup>

### Jan. 27—Sunday

Weather is still cold. Went to hear Mr. Ramsey preach twice. Sat in my room most of the evening reading "Chain of Sacred

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commissioner in Greene County in 1833. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 26, 138-139. He died in Greene County in 1868 at the age of 78.

<sup>23</sup>J. H. H. Granberry was a teacher at Cotton Valley.

<sup>24</sup>James A. Tallman operated a mercantile business at Greensboro from 1853 to 1861 and a hotel from 1866 to 1868. He was a subscriber of \$250 to help secure the selection of Greensboro as the site of Southern University. Owen, *Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, IV, 1643; Christenberry, *History of the Southern University*, 20.

<sup>25</sup>Greensboro, in 1861, was located in Greene County, which was created in 1818 and lay in the Black Belt of Alabama along the Tombigbee and Black Warrior rivers. The first settlers in the area had located in 1816-1817 at a site known as Troy, where the Rev. James Monette, a Methodist, preached the first sermon in 1818, the year that John Nelson built the first house. Troy community was incorporated in 1823 under the name of Greensborough. Its three wards were usually known as White Settlement, Black Settlement, and Dogsboro. The Baptists established a church in 1819, the Methodists and Presbyterians in 1822, and the Episcopalians in 1830. Population in 1860 was about 1600, with over 59 per cent Negro. In 1867 the area of Greene County east of the Black Warrior River was created into Hale County with Greensboro as the county seat. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 2, 14, 190; T. M. Owen, *Story of Alabama*, I, 432-434.

<sup>26</sup>Joseph Russell, a book merchant in Greensboro, was listed in the 1860 census as a native of Connecticut, aged thirty. He had a wife Anna and one child.

Wonders," a grand work. Heard that La.<sup>27</sup> had seceded. Read two chapters in my Bible.

#### Jan. 28—Monday

The prospects for fair and beautiful weather are manifested. No further news concerning public affairs. Attend a concert in Town Hall by Beavers, a blind man, whose performances are excellent.

#### Jan. 29—Tuesday

Have read my Livy lesson for tomorrow and practiced drawing a marshall ensign. During the last three weeks fifteen students have gone home & others are contemplating it. 59 still remain.

#### Jan. 30—Wednesday

Called on by Prof Gatch<sup>28</sup> in Livy. Two students of La., Messers Bowman<sup>29</sup> & R.H. Turner,<sup>30</sup> made preparations to leave tomorrow. Formed acquaintance of Miss Mollie Williams.<sup>31</sup> Had a very pleasant entertainment.

#### Jan. 31—Thursday

Received a letter from Bro Geo, who is now at La Place, Ala. The family was well at the time of writing. Wrote an epistle to Dr. J. Hamilton, Mobile, Ala. Rain now descends heavily.

#### Feb. 1—Friday

Nothing worthy of much note occurred, only as heavy rain as we have witnessed in a long time has fallen. Dr. Wightman<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Louisiana adopted a secession ordinance on January 26, 1861, by a vote of 113-17. Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, II, 417.

<sup>28</sup>Thomas A. Gatch, A. M. was adjunct professor of mathematics. Christenberry, *History of Southern University*, 26-27.

<sup>29</sup>T. H. Bowman of Tensas Parish, Louisiana, was enrolled in the college in 1860.

<sup>30</sup>Story gives the name as R. H. Turner. Turner was probably a relative of Ben D. Turner of Sirna, listed as a student in 1860. Story lists his address under a heading of "Miscellaneous" as B. D. Turner, Jr., Sirna, St. Tammany Parish, La.

<sup>31</sup>James M. Williams, a planter of the Greensboro area, had a daughter Mary A., aged 17 in 1860, who is probably "Miss Mollie."

<sup>32</sup>William M. Wightman was born in Charleston, South Carolina, Jan. 29, 1808. He graduated from South Carolina College and became Profes-

read us the rules to be observed during examinations next week.

### Feb. 22—Saturday

Had quite a nice time tonight at Mr. Tallman's in a Shanghai court<sup>33</sup> where several boys assembled for the purpose. It was conducted very well. Recd. letter from D.R. Perry and answered it immediately.

### Feb. 3—Sunday

Heard Dr. Wightman preach at 11 a.m. and T.Y. Ramsey at night. Both were excellent especially the former.

### Feb. 4—Monday

Spent the day mostly with my friends as the semi-annual examination was in process, and I was not to be examined today.

### Feb. 5—Tuesday

Went to the University this morning at 9 o'clock and remained till after 12 being examined in Latin, don't know yet how I stand.

### Feb. 6—Wednesday

Spent forenoon walking, taking exercise after hunting with Densler.<sup>34</sup> Our game was small compared with the walk. Recd.

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sor of Literature and Rhetoric at Randolph-Macon College. In 1846 he was editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate* at Charleston. He became president of Southern University in 1858, resigned when he was elevated to the bishopric in 1866, but was asked by the Trustees to retain his office until 1868. He died Feb. 15, 1882. Christenberry, *History of the Southern University*, 25; Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers*, 172.

<sup>33</sup>I have not been able to locate the exact description of a *Shanghai court* unless it be a military term [now obsolete] used at West Point at the United States Military Academy to designate a rapid manner of marching and drilling. According to a quotation from the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the "double quick" was the "Shanghai Trot." *Dictionary of American English*, IV (1938), 2084.

<sup>34</sup>F. H. Densler, from Villula, was listed in the college rolls for 1860/1861. His father, Thomas L. Densler, was a minister in Eufaula District. *Conference of 1860*, p. 48.



an invitation to the Concert on the 15 at the Judson F.I.<sup>35</sup> by my friend Miss Mollie E. Carter, a teacher.

Feb. 7—Thursday

Heard lecture from Dr. Wadsworth this evening, on the Sovereigns of England. At night went to hear a Roman Catholic lecture. Reviewed 80 pages in Greek Prose.

Feb. 8—Friday

Examined in Greek under Prof. Casey. Passed a part of the evening reading Life of N. Bonapart. Mr. Callaway<sup>36</sup> returned from Mobile also Steinhart,<sup>37</sup> one of the company from this place, to Ft Morgan.<sup>38</sup> Spillman<sup>39</sup> says J M a rascal.

Feb. 9—Saturday

Did not remain in Society (Belles Lettres) long, having ad-

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<sup>35</sup>*Judson Female Institute* was a Baptist institution established at Marion, Perry County, Alabama, in 1839. Story's identifying "a teacher" may be significant in the light of the close supervision of the students of the school. One regulation provided that "All correspondence, except between Pupils and Parents and Guardians, is liable to inspection." A. Elizabeth Taylor, "Regulations Governing Student Life at the Judson Female Institute during the Decade Preceding the Civil War," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, III (1941), 23-29.

<sup>36</sup>*Christopher Columbus Callaway* was born in 1822 in Lincoln County, Tennessee. The Greene County Census of 1860 identifies him as a Methodist preacher aged 38. Callaway was pastor at Greensboro in 1854/1855 and was named a trustee when Southern University was incorporated in 1856 and served as financial and endowment agent. According to Clark, it was largely through Callaway's efficiency and energy that the University's buildings were erected and that it began its career with an active endowment of \$240,000. W. G. Clark, *History of Education in Alabama*, 179-180. He died August 11, 1867 and was buried at Greensboro, Alabama.

<sup>37</sup>I have not been able to identify this *Steinhart*. The Census of 1860 lists Morris and Edward Steinhart, aged 11 and 9 among the household at the James Croom plantation. Both were born in New York.

<sup>38</sup>*Fort Morgan* was located in Baldwin County at Mobile Point on Mobile Bay. Between the election of delegates and the assembling of the State Convention on January 7, 1861, Governor A. B. Moore authorized Colonel John B. Todd of the First Regiment of Alabama troops to occupy Fort Morgan. It remained a Confederate defense until its surrender, under bombardment, in August 1864. "Fort Morgan," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, VII (1945), 90.

<sup>39</sup>*William J. Spillman* of Columbus, Mississippi was listed as a nineteen year old student in 1860. He was one of the graduates in 1861, and the son of Reverend William Spillman.



journed for necessary reasons. Rev<sup>d</sup> some in Algebra. A.M. Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from Penn & Scott of Cotton Valley. Answered it, also ans note to Miss M.E. Carter of Judson Female Institute.

#### Feb. 10—Sunay

Attended Sunday School A.M. Heard Rev. J.W. Starr,<sup>40</sup> P.E. preach at 11 o'clock A.M. Had an introduction to Harris Waller.<sup>41</sup> Rain has been descending heavily. Heard a Catholic priest lecture in town hall this evening. Health good.

#### Feb. 11—Monday

Formed the acquaintance of Rev. J.W. Starr P.E., who was glad to see me, on account of his respect for the family. Studied some in Algebra for examination.

#### Feb. 12—Tuesday

Spent most of the day with friend students at Tallman's Visited the Misses Wightman<sup>42</sup> Returned and reviewed a few pages in Bourdon.<sup>43</sup>

#### Feb. 13—Wednesday

Was examined in Bourdon today and stood well on the first part but badly on the last. Merely wrote a certificate. Rain and wind combined now make a great noise.

#### Feb. 14—Thursday

Second term of the University opened today, recited as usual in Greek & Latin Prose.

<sup>40</sup>*John Wesley Starr* succeeded Wadsworth as presiding elder of the Greensboro Circuit in 1861. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 95.

<sup>41</sup>*Harris Waller*, aged nineteen in 1860, was the son of Robert B. Waller, Virginia-born planter of the Greensboro area. Henry T. Waller and R. B. Waller, Jr. were both enrolled as students in the college in 1860.

<sup>42</sup>The 1860 Census lists *Edith Wightman*, aged eleven, as a daughter of Dr. Wm. May Wightman and 1st. wife (Sarah Bossard Shackelford). Perhaps there were visitors in the Wightman family. Edith had two sisters, Ella and Arabella.

<sup>43</sup>Story often speaks of his algebra as "Bourdon." Louis Pierre Marie Bourdon (1779-1854) was the author of several books on mathematics. At Oglethorpe University, and probably at Southern as well, the text book for the first term of algebra was Daview' Bourdon. Allen P. Tankersley, *College Life at Old Oglethorpe*, 153.

Feb. 15—Friday

Recited my first lesson in Homer also Horace, which was done with some ease. Speaking in the Chappell [sic] this evening. Had a severe headache at night.

Feb. 16—Saturday

Having felt somewhat recovered from my illness last night—was able to go out this morning and recite a lesson. After coming from Society remained in my room all the evening studying and conversing with C.C.E.<sup>44</sup>

Feb. 17—Sunday

Heard T.Y. Ramsey preach at 11 o'clock & at night. Went to the Students Prayer Meeting at the College.<sup>45</sup> Scene very affecting.

Feb. 18—Monday

My old friend and schoolmate—M[elville] B[arton] Perry, arrived here to-day, and entered the S U.—also Mr. Smith came for the same purpose, both from Miss. John Christian<sup>46</sup> arrived hence also. [M. B. Perry, son of Rev. Dow Perry and brother of Wilbur Fisk Perry, died 1882 at Ft. Worth, Texas.]

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<sup>44</sup>Charles Cannon Ellis was one of the organizing members of Belles Lettres. He served as a chaplain from the Alabama Conference in the Confederate Army. Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*, 221.

Their conversation may have been of college matters or it may have concerned the fact that on that day Jefferson Davis had arrived in Montgomery as provisional president of the Confederate States.

<sup>45</sup>The regularity of report on the Sunday morning sermon may derive both from personal habit and from the fact that every student had to answer roll at chapel on Monday morning by stating whether or not he had attended the required Sunday service.

In 1887 the traditional Sunday afternoon prayer meetings at the college were replaced by the Young Men's Christian Association. Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 36-38.

<sup>46</sup>Melville Barton Perry matriculated from Attala County, Mississippi. C. D. Christian, aged nineteen, was listed as a student from Mississippi in the Census of 1860. William C. Christian was enrolled in 1862. The roll for 1860 included Albert Smith of Tuskegee and Edward C. Smith of Prairie Point.

Feb. 19—Tuesday

Weather very inclement. Barton Perry<sup>47</sup> has decided to room with me which is much to my satisfaction. Sister Sallie<sup>48</sup> sent me a beautiful present by Bart, which gave me much gratification.

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<sup>47</sup>*Barton Perry*, son of Rev. Dow and Tabitha Tillman Turner (Hunt) Perry, was born in 1840. There is an amazing similarity in the background and the lives of the fathers and families of the roommates, *Jimmy Story* and *Bart Perry Dow*, son of Levi and Rebecca Ann Perry, was born in Georgia in 1805. He was named for Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834), preacher of the first Protestant sermon in Alabama. Perry married Tabitha Hunt, named for Lorenzo Dow's mother, Tabitha (Parker) Dow. Story moved to Alabama in 1840 and Perry, in 1842 or 1843. Both men were Methodist ministers and filled various charges from their adjoining farms in southern Macon County until 1860, when the Perry family "refugeed" to Mississippi for three years and the Story family moved to La Place. Both men were especially successful as ministers to the Negroes. Perry supplied the Calebee Colored Mission in Tuskegee District in 1859.

There were twelve Story children; the Perrys had eleven, at least six of whom were named for Methodist ministers: Wilbur Fiske, Susan Ann Hamill, Llerena Collinsworth, Chappell Streetman, and Bart, for John B. Barton, the first native Georgian ever sent on a foreign mission—to Africa in 1831. Bart Perry married Flora Heath of Texas, and he and his wife are buried in Pioneer Cemetery, Fort Worth, Texas.

The six older Perry boys: Joseph William, Turner Hunt, Wilbur Fisk, Orion Sanford, Leroy Cavasso, and Melville Barton (Bart was Capt. of the Macon County Company of the 45th Alabama Infantry and wounded at Chickamauga and Franklin. Brewer's *Alabama*, 656-657) all served in the Confederate Army, and Turner Hunt and Leroy Cavasso died in the service. James O. A. Story and John Wesley Story died in the service. After the war, the old ministers reported on each other to their children who had moved to Texas. On December 20, 1881, Rev. Perry officiated for the marriage of Robert Henry Noble to Julia Owen, the youngest of the Story girls. Perry died on July 23, 1882. George G. Smith, Jr., *History of Methodism in Georgia and Florida*, 273; T. M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, IV, 1343; *Minutes of Alabama Conference 1859*; Story Family Bible.

<sup>48</sup>*Sarah Jane Story* was born in Georgia on June 15, 1839, and married Wilbur Fisk Perry on August 9, 1859. The first two Wilbur Perry children, Raleigh and Emma, were born in Mississippi. Loula, Ila, Pat, Hill, Hunt, Ernest, and Tabitha were born in Alabama. Llerena Collinsworth and Mabel were born after the family moved to Texas in the 1870's. Wilbur Fisk Perry died in Erath County, Texas, on January 8, 1896. Sarah Story Perry died in Breckenridge, Texas, July 15, 1926.

Feb. 20—Wednesday

Recited all my lessons regularly. Rec<sup>d</sup> a comic Valentine prepared lesson in History and Greek Prose. Wrote letter to B. D. Turner of Louisiana.

Feb. 21—Thursday

Recited History to Dr. Wadsworth. Attended concert of Prof Brames<sup>49</sup> school which was a complete success; large attendance.

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Young Bart Perry was nineteen when he penned his contribution to his sister-in-law's "Keep-Sake Album."

Cottage Hill  
October 30, 1859

#### FOR SALLIE

If Apollo would inspire  
My heart with words of praise,  
I would then, a joyful tune,  
To love and friendship raise.

Love and friendship I would sing,  
And sing them loud and long,  
Sing them till the earth returned  
The echo of my song.

But Apollo will not aid;  
For me his harp's unstrung;  
So must love and friendship praise,  
By me remain unsung.

Yet a witness here I leave  
Of sweet fraternal love,  
This fair page with ink I soil,  
A brother's love to prove.

While on earth you make your stay;  
No matter where you move,  
Remember that you always have  
Your humble brother's love.

M. B. P....y.

<sup>49</sup>*Charles E. Brame*, a Virginian aged thirty-seven in 1860, operated the Greensboro Female Academy. The reporter for Greensboro's *Alabama Beacon* agreed with young Story as to the success of the concert at which the "youth and beauty" of the community gathered to pass

The twilight hours, which like birds flew by,  
As lightly and as free;  
For every soul was brimming o'er  
With music and with melody.

Several interesting and beautiful Tableaux. Received letter from Father.

Feb. 22—Friday

Military company from Ft. Morgan arrived. Great excitement among the citizens welcoming them. Fired cannon. Celebrated 22. at S.U. by speeches from Glover of C. Society & Stone of B.L. Society.<sup>50</sup> Both had much success. Large attendance, especially of ladies.

Feb. 23—Saturday

After dinner went with H. Urquhart<sup>51</sup> on his mission and stayed all night at Highs,<sup>52</sup> overseeing for Mrs. Pickins.<sup>53</sup>

Feb. 24—Sunday

Heard Urquhart preach three times to the negroes.<sup>54</sup> Rode through the richest part of the country. Viewed rich plantations which was with pleasure that such happened.

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The secession songs composed by Professor Pond for the occasion were enthusiastically received. Tableaux included "Night," "Morning," "The Artist's Studio," "Scene in a Nunnery," "Mary Queen of Scots and Her Maids of Honor," and "The Confederate States of America." In the patriotic piece, seven young ladies represented the seven states of the Confederacy, each bearing an appropriate flag "with South Carolina and her Palmetto flag in the vertex." *Alabama Beacon*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>50</sup>*Francis Lyon Glover*, son of Allen Glover, a prominent Methodist of Demopolis, Alabama, was one of the charter members and first treasurer of the Clariosophic Society, organized on October 29, 1859. H. L. Stone, of Montgomery, was listed as a student in 1859.

<sup>51</sup>Story consistently misspells the name of *Henry Urquhart*.

*Urquhart*, born in Alabama in 1833 was an ordained minister and was a married student with a son four years old. He was one of the organizers of Belles Lettres. The Alabama Conference of 1861 assigned him to Prairie Creek Colored Mission. Urquhart took his A. B. degree in 1862 and the A. M. in 1863. He died in 1902.

<sup>52</sup>*Isiah P. High*, aged fifty-two, was born in South Carolina.

<sup>53</sup>*Mrs. Mary E. Pickens*, born in South Carolina, was aged forty-six. The Pickens family was prominent in the vicinity. Governor Israel Pickens (1780-1827) was buried near Greensboro.

<sup>54</sup>Story never uses the term "Slaves." The Census for 1860 for his father listed four slave houses and twelve slaves, all "black" ranging in age from five to thirty-two, six male and six female.

Feb. 25—Monday

Received letter from sister Fannie,<sup>55</sup> and answered. Called on the Misses Wightman, but arrangements about the new house prevented them from coming out.

Feb. 26—Tuesday

I was very sick in the forenoon and was compelled to be in bed, and missed two recitations. Very well now. Mr. Callaway returned home this evening.

Feb. 27—Wednesday

Weather rather warm for this season. Things about Town & the University move on smoothly. I feel very well to day.

Feb. 28—Thursday

Dr. Wadsworth being sick, did not recite History. Rec<sup>d</sup> the sad news that Mr. Goodwin was dead Step father of my Room-mate J. H. Howard.

March 1—Friday

A fair, balmy Spring day. Students met in the Chapel to elect speaker. It was left to B.L.S. Wrote letter to A.W. Hale<sup>56</sup> at Oglethorpe University.

March 2—Saturday

Recited and Society met as usual as it was left to Belles Lettres Society to elect Speaker for Commencement. Hon. Joe Taylor<sup>57</sup> was elected.

March 3—Sunday

At 11 o'clock, heard Jacobs<sup>58</sup> Presbyterian minister preach.

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<sup>55</sup>*Frances Elizabeth Story* was born March 4, 1849. She married Seaborn T. Henderson. Indicative of the Perry-Story relationship is the fact that her daughter was named Perry Henderson.

<sup>56</sup>*Anthony W. Hale* graduated at Oglethorpe in 1861. Allen P. Tankersley, *College Life at Old Oglethorpe*, 161.

<sup>57</sup>*Joseph W. Taylor* was born in Kentucky in 1820 and graduated at Cumberland College in 1838. He taught school in Greene County for two years before he was elected to the Alabama Senate in 1845. He was opposed to disunion but supported his state when Alabama seceded. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, IV, 1651.

<sup>58</sup>*Jacobs* was probably a visiting minister. Yerby states that the Presbyterian church pastorate at Greensboro was vacant in 1861-1862. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 104.



Ramsey at night. In evening walked a few miles up the new rail-road<sup>59</sup> with some companions. The scenery was beautiful.

#### March 4—Monday

A fair and bright Spring day. Abe Lincoln inauguration takes place. Much excitement throughout the country in respect to it.

#### March 5—Tuesday

A day as beautiful, and as pleasantly spent as I could wish. To night was a party at the S.U. given to the Light Artillery Guards. A large assembly of both sexes assembled. An eloquent address by Dr. Wightman. A time long to be remembered by the young ladies & Gentlemen.<sup>60</sup>

#### March 6—Wednesday

Feel rather sleepy after last night's revelry,<sup>61</sup> and indisposed to study much, but recited as regular as usual. Went off in the woods with C[hables] C[annon] Ellis, where we practiced our speeches. [C. C. Ellis, 1837-1914, joined Ala. Conference 1863; and died Birmingham, in N. Ala. Conference.]

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<sup>59</sup>The new railroad must have been of wooden rails—or a grading against future possibilities. On February 2, 1860, the legislature had approved the projected Marion, Cahaba, and Greensboro Railroad; so the town's name was on that of a railroad company from 1860 on, but it was November, 1870, before the line actually reached Greensboro. Walter M. Jackson, *The Story of Selma*, 142-143; 148; Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 69.

<sup>60</sup>The *Beacon's* account of the party for the Guard was entitled "Honors to the Artillery." Not content with the reception for the troops, the citizens prepared "another glorious welcome home" in the party at the college. Captain A. C. Jones conducted the Guard to meet the Marion Rifles on the Marion road near the college, and the two companies assembled as a battalion to perform their military maneuvers. Dr. Wightman's address, delivered at the request of the citizens, was in his "usual captivating style—full of sound thought, chaste and eloquent." Colonel William Kerr was marshal for the occasion. *Alabama Beacon*, March 8, 1861.

<sup>61</sup>Just how much of the revelry he took part in, Story does not say. The supper at Tallman's had no defect "except perhaps in its extra richness and superabundance." After supper, "some gay lads and lassies . . . repaired to the Town Hall; and from the looks of some next day, we guess that . . . they passed the hours strictly to the tune of 'we won't go home till morning.'" *Ibid.*

## March 7—Thursday

I also went off this evening with my room-mate (M.B. Perry) and C.C.E. over to the beautiful grove, where I generally go, to speak. This is a noble practice. I hope that some future day may open the mystery.

## March 8—Friday

Got the Tuskegee Republican, which contained two beautiful speeches by Mrs. S. Webb & Mr. M.B. Boyd of La Place. Forepart of the day fair & bright—later part dreary. A hard rain now falls. March winds blow furiously *Modus Operandi*.

## March 9—Saturday

Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from D.R. Perry of Cotton Valley. Home folks are well he states. Went to singing at Methodist Church. Done little singing, but a desire to talk to the ladies who sat by me was a great preventative.

## March 10—Sunday

Heard Dr Wightman preach at 11 o'clock at M C. His sermon as eloquent as usual. Heard Ramsey at night. Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from A.W. Hale of Oglethorpe University, Ga. He is an old friend and school-mate.

## March 11—Monday

Profs Gatch & Casey called on me to recite. I am very well pleased with my success. It is now after 11 o'clock P.M. After a days labor I must speedily retire to "*Somnus*."

## March 12—Tuesday

Dr Wadsworth is very sick indeed, a chance for living is doubted. His absence from the College causes much regret to those who recite to him. My health is very good.

## March 13—Wednesday

C.C. Callaway returned home late this evening, and found his son C.<sup>62</sup> very badly burnt. He is now better.

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<sup>62</sup>*Christopher, Jr.* was the youngest of the seven Callaway children.

## March 14—Thursday

Having sit up all night with little C. feel somewhat sleepy to day, though nursing him I consider no burden as I cherish so high regard for him. Several others sat up with me.

## March 15—Friday

This morning C was no better. About 6 o'clock he died around whom a father and mother were weeping, and brothers & sisters. O how thrilling was the scene. He was an innocent child of 3 yres 1 month.

## March 16—Saturday

C was buried to day, services performed in the church by Ramsey at the grave by Hutchinson.<sup>63</sup> I regretted to see the little fellow depart, with whom I have often played.

## March 17—Sunday

Went to Sunday school. Heard Rev T. Y. Ramsey preach. Read a few of Cowpers Poems,<sup>64</sup> and a chapter in my Bible also glanced over a few pieces in The Knoxville Whig.

## March 18—Monday

Prof Gatch called on me in Horace. A fair, and beautiful spring morning, dusty in middle of the day.

## March 19—Tuesday

Called on to recite in Latin Prose, succeeded tolerably well. Mr Callaway's family all well. My health is very good. Went off and spoke this evening with Howard, Perry & Crews.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>*Joseph Johnston Hutchinson*, a Georgia-born Methodist minister, was aged forty-nine when the census was enumerated at Greensboro in 1860. He was minister at Greensboro in 1853 and presiding elder in 1857-1858 and was a member of the commission to select the location of Southern University. Sweet lists J. J. Hutchinson as a missionary to the Confederate Army from the Alabama Conference. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 95; Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*, 223.

<sup>64</sup>*William Cowper* (1731-1800) composed a number of poems which were arranged for music in the Methodist Hymnal. Some of the best known are "There is a fountain filled with blood," "God moves in a mysterious way," and "O for a closer walk with God."

<sup>65</sup>*Melancthon Crews* from Glenville was enrolled in 1860.

## March 20—Wednesday

Recited all my lessons regularly and prepared them for tomorrow. After much hard study to night I got tolerable well acquainted with the Binomial Theorem. Miss F. L. Hunter is now at C. C. Callaway's.

## March 21—Thursday

When I arose this morning I beheld a white frost, something very uncommon this season of the year. I presume it was not a killing frost. Read a beautiful Composition in the Knoxville Whig by Miss Ramsey. She treated the subject of union admirably.

## March 22—Friday

I neglected going to my grove to speak this evening as there was declamation in the chapel. To night we had a shanghai court. Had much fun as usual in such things.

## March 23—Saturday

Enjoyed myself better than before since I have been in Greensboro. Went to a singing at Dr. R.U. DeBow's<sup>66</sup> Made the acquaintance of his wife, who is a sister to my friend Mrs. R[ebecca] Nicholson<sup>67</sup> of Macon County. Had a very agreeable time.

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<sup>66</sup>*Rufus Urbane*, son of Rev. John and Louisa Williams Dubois, was born in Greensboro, March 18, 1829. He married Martha Jane Slaton of Atlanta, Georgia, in 1857. They became parents of six sons and two daughters. A dentist, Dr. DuBois subscribed \$200 for the fund for the location of Southern University. He played the flute and sang tenor in the church choir. Christenberry, *Semi-Centennial History of Southern University*, 20; *Alabama Christian Advocate*, June 29, 1905.

<sup>67</sup>The *James Nicholson* family was included among the early tenters at Tuskegee Camp-ground in 1838. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 500. In 1860 James Monroe Nicholson, a native of Alabama was aged thirty-five and his wife Rebecca A. was aged twenty-seven. They had two children: James, Jr. and Eula. Mrs. Nicholson had written in Sallie Story's *Keep-sake Album* on May 12, 1859:

I ask not for the weed of fame  
The wreath above my head to twine  
Enough for me to have my name  
Within this hallowed shrine!

To think that o'er these lines thine eye  
May wander in some future year,  
And memory breathe a passing sigh,  
For her who traced them here.

## March 24—Sunday

Heard T.Y. Ramsey preach at 11 o'clock. Congregation tolerably large, and sermon interesting. He also gave us an interesting talk at night. Attended Sunday School.

## March 25—Monday

An unpleasant and windy day. My lips are very sore from it. Dr. Wightman left for Mobile. Dr Wadsworth is nearly well, says he will be at College tomorrow.

## March 26—Tuesday

Received intelligence that Hon. J.W. Taylor has accepted the offer to speak at the Commencement July 3<sup>d</sup>. Joe Atkinson<sup>68</sup> & Spillman are still here, it is probable they will graduate.

## March 27—Wednesday

C.D. Clarke, one of our most worthy students will leave tomorrow at 2 o'clock A.M. He carries with him the best wishes of his fellow students. Wrote some on the subject—Ought the Seceding states go back into the Union?

## March 28—Thursday

Dr. Wadsworth having neglected to hear our History, we recited a lesson in Bourdon. Went off to my grove and spoke.

## March 29—Friday

Spent most of the day writing my composition to read in Univ. tomorrow. One very interesting, though three pages letter paper would not hold all I wished to write.

## March 30—Saturday

Attended singing at Methodist church to night, conducted by Dr. Mears.<sup>69</sup> Quite a large attendance was out. Read my com-

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<sup>68</sup>Joseph Atkinson of Alabama was listed as a student, aged twenty-one, in the Census of 1860. He graduated in 1861. Christenberry, *History of Southern University*, 101.

<sup>69</sup>Joseph W. Mears of Vermont, aged thirty-two, was listed as a teacher in the Census of 1860. His wife was Emma Mears, aged twenty-four. Mears may have been a tutor on the James Croom plantation.

position. In my former one, only few mistakes were found.<sup>70</sup>

### March 31—Sunday

Rec<sup>d</sup> two letters, one from Bro Calvin,<sup>71</sup> the other from R.D. Turner, answered the latter. Heard Hutchinson preach at 11 o'clock A.M. & C.C. Callaway at night. had a very good meeting. Walked out to the grave yard<sup>72</sup> with C.C.E. The walk was a pleasant one indeed.

### April 1—Monday

There is at present a revival of religion going on here.<sup>73</sup> I went to the Alter [*sic*] to night for the 1st time of my life, to do something to save my soul. I shall try until I embrace God and his Word. I shall endeavor to do better and try to be saved.

### April 2—Tuesday

Attended church at 9 o'clock A.M. found there most of those who went to the Alter night before; we went to day also. There was meeting tonight also. I went up to the alter with my same friends. None of us have been converted yet, *but I shall try hard* before I give up.

### April 3—Wednesday

The proudest day of my life. Went off this morning and prayed that I may be converted. God heard my prayer and has blessed me. Several others of the students were converted to night. We are having a glorious revival.

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<sup>70</sup>There must have been errors noted in this composition. While debating was the chief part of the literary society programs, original speeches were made and papers were read. There was an official critic, and, "as a general thing, he was not at all backward in speaking his criticism." Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 17.

<sup>71</sup>Calvin Story, oldest brother of J. O. A. Story, was born January 28, 1831.

<sup>72</sup>Possibly the Stokes graveyard in the northern suburbs of Greensboro. See Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 139.

<sup>73</sup>"Not alone by required attendance at church, but also by religious services at the college, the faculty sought to minister to the spiritual needs of the students placed under their care. In almost every annual report made by the President we find mention of 'a great and gracious revival' held in the college during the session." Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 37.



## April 4—Thursday

Last night came from church, sat down and wrote a letter to my friend Rev. J. Hamilton, concerning my religion. I also wrote this morning to Mother<sup>74</sup> about the same. Our revival is still doing much for souls. I went off this morning and offered up a prayer to God. I hope he will answer.

## April 5—Friday

Densler & Rencher<sup>75</sup> were converted to-night. The revival is still doing great works. God has manifested a desire to save Souls. Dr. Wightman arrived last night from Mobile. He says he had a pleasant trip.

## April 6—Saturday

Had no *society* meeting as there was prayer meeting at the Church, which I attended. Had *best* meeting yet, 3 or 4 were converted. We (Students principally) remained their [*sic*] several hours shouting and praising God. Had just such a meeting to-night.

## April 7—Sunday

Went to sabbath school this morning. Heard Dr. Wightman preach at 11 o'clock in his usually eloquent manner. Went out to class-meeting at the College this evening; about 45 boys were there. We had a glorious time talking about religion, especially the new converts. John C. Duncan<sup>76</sup> was very happy. I joined the church to day. Now over 18 yrs old.

## April 8—Monday

The revival still continues and has done much good. Received letter from Dr. Hamilton. He was very glad to hear of my conversion and says he will send me a book, appropriate and useful. Heard J. J. Hutchinson preach to-night.

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<sup>74</sup>*Mary Emily Patterson Story* become Jimmy Story's step-mother on October 7, 1852.

<sup>75</sup>*Daniel W. Rencher* of Gainesville was listed as a student in 1860.

<sup>76</sup>*John C. Duncan* of Havans, son of Daniel Duncan, who became a Methodist minister like his father, was elected to Belles Lettres Society on November 3, 1859. Christenberry, *Semi-Centennial History of Southern University*, 71.

## April 9—Tuesday

After the prayer meeting went to Greek class. Recited Latin in evening. At night attended Miss Jane Dubois to church—heard T.Y. Ramsey preach. Read XII chapter of Exodus.

## April 10—Wednesday

Did not attend church this morning, but went to recitations. Messrs Bedford and Glass<sup>77</sup> supped with us. Attended church though very rainy, which still continues. Much hail has already fallen.

## April 11—Thursday

Attended church this morning, had three conversions. Very good attendance. Neglected going to night, had to write a composition, but never quite completed it.

## April 12—Friday

Went out to my grove this morning and spoke over my speech for this evening in which I was successful. Escorted Miss Jane DuBois to church, then went to my recitation. A fair and bright day. Times seem warlike.

## April 13—Saturday

There has been much excitement all day on account of the sad news of yesterday. But to-night the inhabitants are somewhat appeased by hearing that Ft Sumpter [*sic*] was taken.<sup>78</sup> I went off this evening in the woods and prayed. I am getting along very well in religious matters.

## April 14—Sunday

Heard Dr. Wightman preach at 11 P.M. [*sic*] and Prof. J. C. Wills<sup>79</sup> at night both were good sermons. I neglected to go to

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<sup>77</sup>G. B. Bedford, J. C. Glass, and Anthony Glass were all students from Warrington, Mississippi.

<sup>78</sup>The signal for the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter was made on April 12, and the resulting bombardment lasted thirty-four hours until Major Robert Anderson surrendered the post to the South Carolinians.

<sup>79</sup>John Cunningham Willis, a Virginian listed as thirty-nine years of age in the Census of 1860, was professor of mathematics at Southern University from 1859 to 1871. Fitzgerald described him as "a clear-cut thinker and able mathematician, full of energy and high professional enthusiasms." He died in Missouri. Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers: A Life Study*, 174-175.

class-meeting, but as I had never seen any Baptists baptized, I witnessed it for the first time. I have always had an aversion to such.

#### April 15—Monday

The day is rainy and muddy. Have studied attentively to day, was pleased by the presentation of a Bible by Dr. Wadsworth. I shall remember the good old man for it. He is now tolerably feeble.

#### April 16—Tuesday

Received the news that Gen. Scott<sup>80</sup> has resigned his position in the A. army. People here are very enthusiastic about the state of the country. Entered Virgil with Smith Powell<sup>81</sup> to review it. Recite to Dr Wightman.

#### April 17—Wednesday

I feel very uneasy about home folks. Have received no letter from any of them in two months. Much excitement still prevails throughout the town. Preparations for war are being made. Have not yet attacked Ft. Pickens.<sup>82</sup>

#### April 18—Thursday

Much excitement about war. Many people in town forming Military Com. Went to prayer meeting to-night. Heard Virginia<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>General Winfield Scott (1786-1866) was a Virginian but remained loyal to the Union. He moved his headquarters to Washington in January, 1861. In October, 1861, he requested retirement because of age and infirmities. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI(1943).

<sup>81</sup>Smith Powell is named among the students enrolled in 1860.

<sup>82</sup>Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island at the entrance to the harbor at Pensacola, Florida, refused to surrender at the order of the Governor of Florida in January, 1861, and was reinforced by Federal troops in April, 1861. In October the Confederate forces made a surprise attack but failed to capture the post, which remained in the possession of the United States. *Encyclopedia Americana*, XI(1940).

<sup>83</sup>The Virginia Convention assembled on February 13, 1861, and counseled conciliation. Commissioners to work for peace were sent to Washington on April 8. After the Confederate seizure of Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for 75,000 militia for three months service on April 15, Virginia, on April 17, adopted an ordinance of secession by a vote of 81-51. The measure was approved by popular vote on May 23. Clement A. Evans (ed.), *Confederate Military History*, III, 36-39.

had seceded. Boys sending up sky rockets. Shot fifty guns in honor of it.

#### April 19—Friday

Attended prayer-meeting at M.E. Church. Every night it seems while we are praying that we are disturbed by the noise made when the news arrives. Prof Gatch has organized a company of students to teach them Military tactics.

#### April 20—Saturday

Quarterly meeting commenced to day. J[ohn] W[esley] Starr preached at 11 O'clock. The conference met in the evening. Messers Crews & Ellis were licensed to preach. B.L. Society met this evening. Attended Miss Mollie Kennedy<sup>s4</sup> to church tonight.

#### April 21—Sunday

Attended love-feast<sup>s5</sup> this morning. Had a very good time. Heard J.W. Starr preach at 11 o'clock. Took Sacrament for the first time. Heard Dr. Wightman preach at night. Rec<sup>d</sup> letters from Father, Mother & Fannie. They were very encouraging. F. & M. gave me some good advice.

#### April 22—Monday

No great excitement has prevailed, and no news to day. Wrote a long letter to Father. Called on Miss Jane Dubois with Bart Perry, and we had a very fine time. This is very usual with her, to be entertaining.

#### April 23—Tuesday

A pretty shower of rain fell last night, which renders things pleasant out to-day. Walker out this evening to the Camp, while the Guards<sup>s6</sup> are. They are well fixed up. Dr. Wightman prayed.

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<sup>s4</sup>W. E. Kennedy, a North Carolinian aged forty-six, was listed as a planter and farmer in the Greene County Census for 1860. His daughter Mary was then sixteen.

<sup>s5</sup>"A love feast is a religious service, especially among Methodists, at which refreshments are eaten and religious experiences are related." At Southern University for a number of years it was customary to hold a love feast on the afternoon of Commencement Sunday. *Dictionary of American English*, III (1938), 1455; Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 37.

<sup>s6</sup>The Greensboro Guards, Company D. Fifth Alabama Regiment, C. S. A. Numbered 209 when they left Greensboro for active service in

J.D. Webb<sup>87</sup> spoke, fired cannon seven times.

April 24—Wednesday

Late this evening again walked out to the camp where many of both sexes were assembled. Spend a few hours to write a composition which was hard to do on such a difficult subject.

April 25—Thursday

Rumors of war are now passing through the country. We live in a fearful time, and if we are not stripped in youth this shall be remembered, to tell to our children.

April 26—Friday

We have just received the inglorious news that Gen Scott has not resigned. The military company at S.U. has obtained some muskets, and offered their services to the citizens of Greensboro, if they are attacked after the L.A.G. leaves.

April 27—Saturday

We have had much rain to day. This evening I visited Mrs. R.U. DuBoux—spent 1½ hours, which was indeed pleasant. She is a particular friend to me. I shall visit her often. Wrote a letter to Mother to-night.

April 28—Sunday

Heard Dr Wightman preach to the Soldiers at 11 o'clock. The congregation was very large. Went to our class meeting at

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May, 1861. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 42. For their war record see W. Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record, and Public Men*, 596-597.

<sup>87</sup>James Daniel Webb, born in Lincoln County, North Carolina, graduated from the University of Alabama in 1836. He began the practice of law in Greensboro in 1838 and represented Greene County in the Alabama legislature in 1843 and 1851. In 1861 he was one of the Greene County delegates to the Secession Convention. He joined the Fifth Alabama Regiment as a private and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He had been promoted to brigadier general but died on July 19, 1863, before he received his commission. He was buried in Winchester, Tennessee. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 50; "Delegates to the Alabama Secession Convention," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, III (1941), 420-421.



U and walked out to the Camp. Heard C.C. Callaway preach tonight. Dr. W's text was 16 chap 8th & 9th verses [does not give book].

#### April 29—Monday

The same spirit of war still pervades our land, and seems to increase daily. Every mail brings us dreadful news.

#### April 30—Tuesday

Mr. Powel being sick, neglected reciting Virgil to Dr Wightman. Devoted some time to arranging books in B. L. Library, as I was chosen librarian.

#### May 1—Wednesday

The most attractive thing seen in a long while was the coronation of the queen (Miss M. W. Christian)<sup>88</sup> at a May party at the Female Academy. Several persons were present.

#### May 2—Thursday

2<sup>d</sup> Anniversary of B.L. Society occurred to day.<sup>89</sup> Speech by T.D. McCaskey.<sup>90</sup> I pronounced it very good, best I've heard from him. His subject was Germany. The attendance was not very large on account of the excitement.

#### May 3—Friday

Spent much of the day arranging the Books in Society Library.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>*Mary W. Christian*, aged fifteen in 1860, was daughter of Jonas F. Christian, operator of a hotel in Greensboro. She had represented "Morning" in one of the tableaux presented by the Female Academy in February, 1861. *Alabama Beacon*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>89</sup>Evidently any arbitrary anniversary date was chosen for the society first met on October 28, 1858.

<sup>90</sup>*T. D. McCaskey* of Camden was listed as a student in 1859.

<sup>91</sup>Of college literary societies in general *Guy R. Lyle* of Antioch College remarks: "the expense of furnishing society halls, collecting libraries, and arranging the programs was considerable. And yet, curiously enough, the students often did things in good taste, with vigor, originality, and humor. These societies acquired libraries of character, more often than not superior to the 'chance aggregations of the gifts of charity' which cluttered up the college library." See "College Literary Societies in the Fifties," *Library Quarterly*, IV (1934), 492. Belles Lettres on February 20, 1899, deeded its collection of books to Southern University to be operated in connection with the college library. Christenberry, *Semi-Centennial History of Southern University*, 74.

It was very tedious but interesting. Soldiers received orders to go to Pensacola. They are now making preparations for that. No news to-night.

#### May 4—Saturday

Met in Society as usual. Had a very interesting meeting. After dinner had a very *interesting* and hard rain which continued several hours. Heard that Tennessee<sup>92</sup> had passed the ordinance of Secession. Wrote to Sister Fannie.

#### May 5—Sunday

The Light Artillery Guards left for Pensacola today—about 100 in no They went with cheering hearts in defense of the S. Confederacy. G. M. Bedford leaves tonight. Our college is not very flourishing. Students are leaving most every week. I do not think it will survive long, unless the times change.

#### May 6—Monday

J.W. Mathews<sup>93</sup> leaves tonight. Heard that Mobile was to be blockaded tomorrow. Walked out to the far grave yard this evening and prayed. My health is very good. Wrote letter to Editor Tuskegee Republican.<sup>94</sup>

#### May 7—Tuesday

Southern Congress has declared war.<sup>95</sup> Arkansas<sup>96</sup> is out of the

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<sup>92</sup>The people of Tennessee, in a referendum on February 9, 1861, refused to call a convention to consider secession, but strong secession sentiment developed after the fall of Fort Sumter. In May, 1861, the legislature provided for a popular vote on the issues of separation from the Union and adherence to the Confederacy. The vote on June 8, 1861, favored secession. *Encyclopedia Americana*, XXVI(1953), 431.

<sup>93</sup>James W. Mathews of Fort Valley, Georgia, was enrolled as a student in 1859/1860.

<sup>94</sup>The *Tuskegee Republican*, a Whig paper, was edited and published by Daniel Sayre from 1845 to 1859 and then by his son Daniel Sayre, Jr. *Memorial Record of Alabama*, II, 219.

<sup>95</sup>An Act—"Recognizing the existence of War between the United States and the Confederate States. . . ." was passed by the Provisional Congress and approved by President Davis on May 6, 1861. James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 104-110.

<sup>96</sup>Arkansas had been settled chiefly by people from the Old South, but so divided was the state on the secession issue, that the State Convention adjourned without action until Lincoln's call for troops led to the reassembling of the convention and adoption of an ordinance of secession on May 6, 1861. *Encyclopedia Americana*, II(1940).

Union, and others may come out soon. I am fearful we will have to go home soon as it is not possible that the crisis will admit our staying. Wes Phares<sup>97</sup> leaves for home to night to join the army. God may be on our side yet.

May 8—Wednesday

Finished reading Leviticus to night. I have a greater desire for reading the Bible than ever. My intention is to endeavor to increase in the strength of religion and serve God. How great is his holy name! How illustrious his works!

May 9—Thursday

My diary suffers for want of some good news. I have heard so much of war, that I am tired of it. I am enjoying religion as much as ever.

May 10—Friday

On account of Kits being afraid it would rain, we missed our fishing. Though I presume we will try it before long. Mr. Russell gave me a book for Society, little Daughters of the Cross.

May 11—Saturday

Sit up with Mr. J.W. Sampey<sup>98</sup> last night. Littlejohn<sup>99</sup> with me. Prof Gatch was too hoarse to hear recitation this morning. Spent most of the evening conversing on the subject of Oratory.

May 12—Sunday

Received letter from Mother to-day. Her & Father are unwell. Attended class-meeting. Walked up to far grave yard<sup>100</sup> with W.H. Cox. Did not attend church on account of headache. Rec<sup>d</sup> two copies Tuskegee Rep.

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<sup>97</sup>John Wesley Phares of Belmont, enrolled in 1859.

<sup>98</sup>John Watkins Sampey of Burnt Corn, Alabama, entered Southern University in 1859 and his brother Joseph Richard Hawthorne Sampey was enrolled in 1860. Their father, John Sampey, was on the Board of Finance of the Alabama Conference. Owen, *Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, IV, 1493.

<sup>99</sup>Joseph B. Littlejohn was an 1860 student from Thebodaux, Louisiana.

<sup>100</sup>This may be the cemetery, eight miles west of Greensboro, in which the French refugees were buried. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 141.

Raining in the first part of the day, fair in the latter. Spent the day mostly in idleness. Wrote letter to my esteemed friend Dr J. Hamilton. Bart and Howard will sit up with Mr Sampey to night.

May 14—Tuesday

No news of much importance has come to our hearing today. The excitement has cooled down considerably. We may have peace for a few weeks now.

May 15—Wednesday

Visited the country this evening. Went home with Smith Powel and enjoyed the walk greatly (8½ mi). Called to see Miss Avery<sup>101</sup> at night but found her absent.

May 16—Thursday

Joined the Military Company<sup>102</sup> at the College. Very much pleased with drilling. Went to hear Dr Grieves lecture on phrenology to night. He is almost helpless, cannot walk.

May 17—Friday

A fair and pleasant day. Heard Ft. Pickens was to be attacked tomorrow. Dr G. lectured again to-night, but I remained at home and read "A Plea for Mathematics by—

May 18—Saturday

Our society elected officers to day. I was chosen secretary. Stone President. Visited my friend Mrs. R.U. Dubois. I consider her the best of friends here. Wrote to Mother.

May 19—Sunday

Rained very hard before noon, didn't have preaching. Went to

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<sup>101</sup>*William Avery* is listed as a farmer aged thirty-three in the Census of 1860. He had several young children. This Miss Avery may have been a sister. A Miss Mary Avery was a teacher in the Female Academy in 1874. *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>102</sup>The college trustees were not enthusiastic about the drill, but their condemnation was mild. Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 21.

class meeting at College. Walked out to grave yard with some boys. set up with J.W. Sampey. H.B. Magruder<sup>103</sup> left to night.

#### May 20—Monday

Went up to far grave yard and spoke over my speech. To news of much importance to day. Recd. letter from Sis Fannie.

#### May 21—Tuesday

G.W. and W.H. Cox left to night. Heard that our troops had been ordered to Virginia. My health is very good. Few can boast as I can. Probably the cause is that I never drank any ardent spirits.

#### May 22—Wednesday

Did not recite Greek today. feeling very sleepy went home. Spent most all the evening writing a composition on the Fall of Carthage.

#### May 23—Thursday

Had a very long drill this evening and feel rather tired to night. I eat a very hearty supper, and of course have done little studying. Heard that S A Douglas<sup>104</sup> was dead.

#### May 24—Friday

Prof Gatch heard our Latin Prose this evening instead of in the morning. I had a pleasant time with Miss Addie Hutchinson<sup>105</sup> to night. Bart was with me. We always have a fine time with all such ladies.

#### May 25—Saturday

Had no lesson to recite to day as usual. Society met. I served my first time as Secretary. I am very much pleased with the business. Received a letter from Sister Mat Hoffman.<sup>106</sup> Wrote

<sup>103</sup>H. B. Magruder enrolled from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1860.

<sup>104</sup>Stephen Arnold Douglas (1813-1861) died of typhoid fever on June 3, 1861. Allen Johnson, "Stephen A. Douglas," *Dictionary of American Biography*, V (1943).

<sup>105</sup>Adelaide Hutchinson, daughter of Rev. Joseph J. Hutchinson, was listed as nineteen years of age in the Census of 1860.

<sup>106</sup>Martha Ann Story, his oldest sister, was born in Alabama July 25, 1833. In 1853 she married John U. Hoffman, a South Carolinian, whose property was near the Story place at Cotton Valley.



to Dr. Rivers,<sup>107</sup> and answered Sisters letter. My health very good.

#### May 26—Sunday

Having felt rather unwell this morning, did not attend Church. Procured a box of Ayers Pills, and took two which relieved me very much. Went to hear Stone preach to negroes this evening. Heard Rev. Ramsey preach to night.

#### May 27—Monday

Rec<sup>d</sup> no letters from home to night, and no news from anywhere. Cowin, Jack, Mc, and Dedman<sup>108</sup> are here, they will return to Ft Pickens in a few days. C. C. Ellis & I walked out to speak this evening to yard.

#### May 28—Tuesday

Of course we had a pleasant time to-night when Bart & I were with Miss Bettie Seay.<sup>109</sup> Heard that a battle was fought at Harpers Ferry, and that 600 yankees were killed.

#### May 29—Wednesday

Walked two miles and a half this evening with Densler & Bart to Waltons<sup>110</sup> fish pond. Besides the good wash we had, a nice orchard of plums was not far distant, of which we partook freely.

#### May 30—Thursday

Rec<sup>d</sup> three letters to-night. viz from J.W. Story,<sup>111</sup> Mother, &

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<sup>107</sup>Rev. Richard H. Rivers was president of Tennessee Conference Female Institute at Athens, Alabama, in 1843 and in 1854 became president of La Grange College. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 617.

<sup>108</sup>Officers of the Greensboro Guards included M. L. Dedman, Second Lieutenant; Samuel Cowin, Third Sergeant; and W. J. McDonald, Fourth Corporal. J. H. Cowin and James M. Jack were privates. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 43-44.

<sup>109</sup>The Census for 1860 lists *Reuben Seay*, a Georgia-born planter and his wife Ann Green McGee Seay and their children Sarah, aged 25; Bettie, aged 18, Fannie, aged 15, and Thomas, aged 14. Thomas entered Southern University in 1863 and joined the Confederate Army in 1863 or 1864. He was governor of Alabama in 1886 and 1888.

<sup>110</sup>*John W. Walton*, a North Carolinian aged forty-three in 1860, was a planter and large landowner of Greene County. He was one of the trustees of Southern University.

<sup>111</sup>*John Wesley Story* was born March 25, 1845. He died June 14, 1863 in the Confederate Hospital in Petersburg, Virginia.

Eneas Masters. All contained valuable information. Have a very severe headache to-night. No very important.

May 31—Friday

I have had a very severe headache to day, which lasted till near 12 o'clock. Wrote letter Ae Masters. S.U. Cadets drilled in town to day. Bought goods of Col Kerr<sup>112</sup> to the amt of \$1400. [Editor's note: If the purchase was personal and by the Cadets, the entry is doubtless in need of a decimal point.]

June 1—Saturday

Took another trip to Walton's fish pond with a crowd, but found that it had been dreaned off; but we got a bait of plums, which paid us for our trip.

June 2—Sunday

Heard Dr. Wightman preach at 11 o'clock. Ramsey & Ormond<sup>113</sup> arrived here this morning. Went to class meeting. Walked up to grave yard with Bart Perry.

June 3—Monday

Perry & Gragg<sup>114</sup> left us to night. I was very sorry to see them leave, especially the former, who has always been one of my dearest friends. I feel almost lost without being with him.

June 4—Tuesday

Felt rather unwell today, though not confined to my bed. Got four letters for Bart, put them all in one envelope, and sent them to him at Cotton Valley.

June 5—Wednesday

Visited the Misses Seay to-night with Mr. Rencher. Got acquainted with Miss Sallie. Had a dry time with her though not with Miss Bettie. Wrote to Mother.

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<sup>112</sup>William M. Kerr, born in Scotland and aged forty-seven in 1860, was a Greensboro merchant. He was Worshipful Master of the Lafayette Masonic Lodge of Greensboro at least three different times and in 1860-1865 was High Priest of the Royal Arch Masons there. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 112.

<sup>113</sup>This may be L. F. Ormond, a student aged twenty-two according to the 1860 Census. J. J. Ormond was located in Tuscaloosa.

<sup>114</sup>James A. Gragg of Somerset, Kentucky, was a student in 1860.

## June 6—Thursday

Prof Casey had a cold this morning and could not hear our Greek. Came home this evening and wrote in John Duncan's "Autographs." Sent two letters to Bart from [sic] out of the post office. Went to prayer meeting.

## June 7—Friday

Wrote letter to H. H. Kavanaugh, Falmouth, Ky. Sent Beacon<sup>115</sup> to Bart. Quit Military Company on account of causing headache. Speaking in C. Chapel this evening. Had light shower this evening. Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from Rev. E.B. Norton, Oak Bowery, Ala.

## June 8—Saturday

Had a very good rain to day. Debated this question in Society. Is it right for Ky to assume an armed neutrality.<sup>116</sup> Had a very interesting time. Wrote to E.B. Norton & sent Beacon to him.

## June 9—Sunday

Attended class meeting at the College this evening after hearing Mr. Ramsey preach at 11 o'clock. No preaching at night on account of rain. Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from Dr. Hamilton.

## June 10—Monday

From the nice rain yesterday the weather is very pleasant today. Took tea at Dr. DuBois' with J.B. Littlejohn. As usual I had a very pleasant time. Creagh<sup>117</sup> & Portis left to night. Several more will leave shortly.

## June 11—Tuesday

Glass, Goodloe, Rencher, & Randle<sup>118</sup> leave to night. McCaskey

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<sup>115</sup>John G. Harvey was owner and publisher of the *Alabama Beacon* in 1861. For a sketch of the Beacon see Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 38-39.

<sup>116</sup>The Legislature of Kentucky, a strong Whig state, met January 17, 1861. Union men opposed a convention and called on the South to stay the work of secession and warned the North against coercion. The State Convention, which met on March 20, had a stormy two-week session which resulted in the adoption of a policy of neutrality. E. Merton Coulter, *The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky*, 25-56.

<sup>117</sup>Gerald Walthall Creagh of Suggsville was a student in 1860.

<sup>118</sup>William R. Randle of Crawfordsville, Mississippi, enrolled as a student in 1859. He was the first librarian of the Clariosophic Society. Perry, *History of Birmingham-Southern College*, 16.

left this morning. Rec<sup>d</sup> letter for Bart to night, from Cosiesco [sic] Miss. No interesting news to night.

#### June 12—Wednesday

This evening I went over in the woods with Messrs Burpo<sup>110</sup> and Ellis to hear them deliver their speeches prepared for the debate at the Commencement.

#### June 13—Thursday

Thanksgiving day.<sup>120</sup> No eating today. Rev. T.Y. Ramsey preached an excellent Sermon at 11 o'clock in M.E. Church. Prof. C. E. Brame preached in Baptist church to night. Rec<sup>d</sup> no news as no papers were printed. Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from Bart Perry.

#### June 14—Friday

Declamation in the chapel this evening was slow. As it was the last time for this, none of them spoke. The military company has no drilling now. Wrote letter to Bart Perry.

#### June 15—Saturday

Wrote letter to Father this evening. Warmest day this year, mixed with abundance of dust makes it very unpleasant. Hon. Hale<sup>121</sup> spoke in Town Hall. He is a very logical and

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<sup>110</sup>William A. Burpo, son of Rev. Thomas Burpo (1804-1856), was a student in 1860. He died in 1862. F. S. Moseley to Friend, June 13, 1856.

<sup>120</sup>A proclamation by President Jefferson Davis on May 28, 1861, recommended June 13 as a day of fasting and prayer when the people of the Confederacy might, with one accord, "join in humble and reverential approach to Him in whose hands we are." James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 103-104.

<sup>121</sup>Stephen Fowler Hale, from whom Hale County was named when it was created out of Greene County in 1867, was born in 1816. Owen, *Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, III, 725.

His speech at Greensboro, made just before he left for military service, was a plea for financial assistance for the government of the Confederate States. Direct taxation he considered impractical. His proposal was for the planter to lend to the government a portion of his crop in cotton or in money. He would receive in return twenty-year government bonds drawing 8 per cent interest payable semi-annually. Security would be provided in a tax bill to be passed by the next session of the Confederate Congress. At the close of the speech some fifteen hundred bales of cotton were subscribed. "Aid to the Government," *Alabama Beacon*, June 21, 1861.

interesting speaker his subject was The Confederate Loan. He had subscribed 1400 bales cotton.

#### June 16—Sunday

Heard T.Y. Ramsey preach at 11 o'clock. Attended negro church in the evening. Heard C. C. Calloway preach to night. Had an introduction to Mr. Heins of Pickens County who is just from East Ala. College.<sup>122</sup>

#### June 17—Monday

Prof Casey neglected hearing our Greek lesson. The Eutaw, or "Greene Greys" passed through here on their way to Virginia. No interesting news came to day.

#### June 18—Tuesday

The Clinton Blues passed through here to day on their way to Va. Rev. J.J. Hutchinson made them a speech. Called on the Misses Seay to night. Received letter from Aeneas Masters.

#### June 19—Wednesday

The first day of our examinations. I was not examined in Greek, intending to go over it again next year. Howard and I went to see Miss Eliza Smaw,<sup>123</sup> but she was not at home.

#### June 20—Thursday

No news of much interest has come to us lately. Wrote a letter to Aeneas Masters of Auburn.

#### June 21—Friday

The examination is still going on. Weather very warm. Heard C.C. Ellis speak his address for debate.

#### June 22—Saturday

Had no Society to day as there were not enough to make a

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<sup>122</sup>East Alabama Male College was established at Auburn, Alabama, in 1857 with W. J. Sassnet as the first president and E. J. Hamill the financial agent. The college buildings were used as a hospital during the war. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, I, 504.

<sup>123</sup>Miss Eliza was probably of the family of Isaiah Buxton Smaw, who married Janie Tignor McAlpine of Greensboro.



quorum. Received from post office Tuskegee Republican & Southern Teacher.<sup>124</sup>

#### June 23—Sunday

Went to Sunday school, but feeling rather unwell left and did not go to preaching. Had a little shower of rain this evening, consequently had no preaching. Heard Mr. Wilson<sup>125</sup> preach to the negroes this eve.

#### June 24—Monday

The day of my examination in Bourdon. I was not examined because I had not studied it enough. But few (3) of class was examined. Finished writing off Ellis' speech for Com. He gave me his manuscript. Heard that Md<sup>126</sup> had seceded.

#### June 25—Tuesday

Times rather dull, as we get no news of any importance. My health is extremely good as it has always been.

#### June 26—Wednesday

I am having a very good time as the Examination is going on.

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<sup>124</sup>*The Southern Teacher*, "a journal of school and home education," was established at Montgomery, Alabama by W. S. Barton on July 1, 1859. It lived to see its second volume. Volume I, No. 5, for May 1860, carried seventeen pages of advertising and included Literary, Teachers, Youth, Home, and Editorial departments as well as a "Book Table." Among the editorials was a notice of the death of Samuel G. Goodrich, better known to pupils of the day as Peter Parley. The issue for March, 1861, discussed editorially the new Confederate postal law which raised letter postage to five cents for five hundred miles and ten cents for greater distances. "Southern Patronage to Northern Schools" came in for attention as well as the need to encourage Southern authorship and the investment of capital in publishing in the South so that Southern authors would not be driven North to publish or submit to double expense at home.

<sup>125</sup>This may be "preacher training" of William P. Wilson, listed as a student in 1860. William N. Wilson was elected to Hanover Mission in Talladega District by the Conference of 1860.

<sup>126</sup>The Maryland General Assembly which met on May 10, 1861, adopted resolutions which stated that Maryland would have no part in prosecution of the war. The legislature was dominated by conservatives, and by May 24, Maryland was a Federal garrison. Clement A. Evans (ed.), *Confederate Military History*, II, 30.

Made the acquaintance of the Misses May,<sup>127</sup> Talbert & Richards<sup>128</sup> to night and was much pleased with the chat we had especially with that of Miss Ann Talbert.

#### June 27—Thursday

The Concert at Town Hall<sup>129</sup> to-night closes the exercises of Mr. C.E. Brame's School at Female Academy. I pleasantly escorted Miss Laura May to it. The audience was pleased with all but Mrs. Pond's singing.

#### June 28—Friday

Hon. Jos. W. Taylor arrived in town this evening. He speaks as though he was ready to speak Tuesday. As the Board of Trustees<sup>130</sup> of S.U. Meets tomorrow, several distinguished characters have come in town.

#### June 29—Saturday

Rev. Thos. O. Summers<sup>131</sup> is in town. He was elected Honorary

<sup>127</sup>John M. May was listed in the 1860 Census as a broker. His daughters Laura and Mary were aged seventeen and fourteen.

<sup>128</sup>Ann A. Talbert, aged nineteen, and her fourteen-year old sister Pamela, both from South Carolina were listed as students in the Female Institute in 1860. So was Miss Mary F. Richards, aged thirteen.

<sup>129</sup>Town Hall was a building constructed by Amasas M. Dorman, a Greensboro merchant, and considered in its time the finest public hall in its section of Alabama. It was the scene of debates over secession and the drilling of the Greensboro Guards as well as the site of lectures and amateur performances by local talent. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 197.

<sup>130</sup>The original Board of Trustees appointed by the Alabama Conference included Rev. Robert Paine, Rev. James O. Andrew, Rev. Edward Wadsworth, Rev. Jefferson Hamilton, Rev. T. O. Summers, Rev. Archelaus H. Mitchell, Rev. Thomas J. Koger, Rev. Christopher C. Callaway, Rev. Joseph J. Hutchinson, Rev. Joshua Thomas Heard, Rev. Philip P. Neely, Rev. Lucius Q. C. deYampert, Rev. Henry W. Hilliard, Rev. Thomas Yancey Ramsey, Col. John Erwin, Mr. Gideon E. Nelson, Mr. Robert A. Baker, Mr. Thomas M. Johnston, Dr. Gaston Drake, Dr. William T. Webb, Judge A. A. Coleman, Mr. Duke W. Goodman, and Mr. John W. Walton.

<sup>131</sup>For a biography of *Thomas Osmond Summers* (1812-1882) see O. P. Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers: A Life Study* (Nashville, 1885). English born, Summers came to the United States in 1830, joined the Methodist Church in 1832, began his ministry in 1835, and was a missionary to Texas between 1839 and 1844. Rutgersville College in Texas conferred on

member of B.L. Society and accepted. Our Society assembled today for their last time during the Session of 1860 & 61.

June 30—Sunday

Dr Summers preached Com sermon on account of Rev. Walker's<sup>132</sup> non-arrival. His text was Cor XVI-XIII. A large attendance was there. His advice was good, especially on the "conjugal."<sup>133</sup>

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him an honorary D. D. degree. He was pastor at Mobile before he joined Dr. W. M. Wightman in editing the *Southern Christian Advocate* in Charleston. In 1844 he represented the Alabama Conference in the General Conference in New York which saw the division of the Methodist Church. He continued work with the *Advocate* when the Methodist Publishing House was moved to Nashville and was also Professor of Systematic Theology and Dean of the Theological Faculty at Vanderbilt University until his death in May, 1882.

<sup>132</sup>The intended Commencement speaker may possibly have been Rev. Francis Walker who was sent to DeKalb in Macon District by the Alabama Conference in 1861. He died May 27, 1879, in Texas.

<sup>133</sup>The text: "For they have refreshed my spirit and yours: therefore acknowledge ye them that are such," with the emphasis on the "conjugal" doubtless had special appeal for Summer's youthful male audience.

This was not the first time that Rev. Summers had appeared in the capacity of a substitute speaker for a Greene County congregation. In the fall of 1843 a camp-meeting was in progress at deYampert's campground midway between Greensboro and Marion. The great event was to be the Sunday sermon by Mobile's widely-heralded Dr. Lovic Pierce. Pierce arrived but was too ill to preach. Completely unheralded was one T. O. Summers, in Alabama on a visit from Texas for a two-fold purpose—to hunt a wife and to solicit funds for his Texas mission field. He preached one sermon that was unacceptable to the congregation generally and to L. Q. C. deYampert particularly. A brusque manner and a stormy and fidgety pulpit performance were bad enough, but Summers had displayed at the camp-meeting some horned frogs brought from Texas and preserved in alcohol. When Sunday arrived, Dr. Pierce continued ill, and all the other ministers followed the presiding elder in not daring to be his substitute. Summers heard deYampert refuse to consider his name. The congregation gathered and the presiding elder, in desperation, led Summers to the platform. He began with a prayer "characterized by devotion, unction, propriety of utterance, variety of petition, and heartiness of thanksgiving." The sermon that followed set the tone and pace for an especially fruitful meeting. DeYampert reversed his position and became a contributor to the Texas mission and one of Summers' admirers and warmest friends. The visiting minister won a wife in Tuscaloosa and in 1844 transferred to the Alabama Conference. West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 561ff.

## July 1—Monday

No exercises in college to-day except that of the Board of Trustees. Meeting before and after noon.

## July 2—Tuesday

A debate of the members of Belles Lettres Society to-night composed the exercises of the day. Dr Summers was present and amused the audience very much. J. W. Taylor spoke to BLS & CS.<sup>184</sup>

## July 3—Wednesdy

Commencement Day. Spillman & Atkinson graduated. The exercises were carried through well. Prepared to start home. Had the well wishes of several young ladies. May God bless their souls.

## July 4—Thursday

Started home before day, with other students. I came to Newbern with Prof Gatch & Densler, Dr Summers and other dignitaries. I am now in Selma, waiting for the boat. A steady rain is falling.

## July 5—Friday

Started from Selma this morning at 10 o'clock on the Duke for Montgomery. Parted with Messrs Sampey here. They went down on the Taney.

## July 6—Saturday

Arrived in Montg this morning at 1 o'clock A.M. Slept till day. Went to Exchange, thence to railroad, where I came to Cowles Station, thence Home in La Place arrived 12 o'clock.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>184</sup>*Taylor's* address to the societies was entitled "The Southern University: Its Origin, Present Condition, Wants and Claims." He stressed the point that the separate nationality or political independence of the South must be followed by intellectual and literary emancipation as well, an emancipation which would demand for its achievement the support of such institutions as Southern University. *Christian Advocate* (Nashville), August 29, 1861.

<sup>185</sup>The trip from Greensboro to La Place, a distance of some 120 miles, serves to illustrate ante-bellum travel in Alabama. The trip took over two and a half days by "public conveyance," boat, train, and "private conveyance." From Greensboro to Newbern, Story travelled by Aber-

I with the family rejoiced at meeting. All things moving on smoothly here.

### July 7—Sunday

Went to preaching at La Place with Mr. John Motley. Gave Mrs. Nicholson a letter from her sister Mrs. DuBois. Dined at Mr. Nicholson's. Sister Mat & John U. Hoffman are here.

### July 8—Monday

As I have no business for my three months vacation I went to Cotton Valley<sup>136</sup> to try to get a school but failed. Dined at Dr. Perry's<sup>137</sup> and spent the night there. M.B. Perry is there writing for H.H. Freeman.<sup>138</sup>

### July 9—Tuesday

Arrived home this morning from Cotton Valley, where I saw the friends and viewed many of the scenes of my youth. It looks rather desolated as most all the boys have gone to the wars in Virginia.<sup>139</sup>

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deen State Coach. The Selma and Meridian Railroad was completed from Newbern to Selma, where he caught the east-bound boat for Montgomery. The Montgomery and West Point Railroad then conveyed him to Cowles Station, where some of the family met him for the journey out to La Place.

<sup>136</sup>A Colton map of Alabama for 1855 shows roads leading from La Place to Tuskegee and from Tuskegee some ten miles due south to Cotton Valley. La Place and Cotton Valley are about twelve miles apart, and young Story probably knew how to ride across the farm land without having to go the longer distance by road.

<sup>137</sup>Members of the *Perry* family remained in the locality after Rev. Dow Perry had moved to Mississippi. The Census of the Southern Division of Macon County in 1860 listed Dr. Joseph William Perry, aged thirty. The oldest of the Dow Perry Sons, Turner Hunt Perry, was also a doctor. Dow Perry's brother Samuel, with seven children, had a farm in the area.

<sup>138</sup>*Hugh H. Freeman*, a Georgian aged forty-five in 1860, was a farmer with real and personal property each valued at \$3,000. The census listed his wife and eight children. The "writing" which Bart was doing probably had to do with property estimates for tax purposes.

<sup>139</sup>Macon County contributed heavily to both the Third Alabama Infantry, organized at Montgomery in April, 1861, and the Fourth Alabama Infantry, organized at Dalton, Georgia, May 2, 1861. W. Brewer, *Alabama*, 591-596.



July 10—Wednesday

I never was as much pleased with a residence and farm as this. It is the prettiest country I ever saw. We have a nice orchard of apples, peaches, & pears. Walked up to the post office to night.

July 11—Thursday

My occupation now is teaching my brother and three little sisters.<sup>140</sup> Such business is very pleasant.

July 12—Friday

I am doing tolerably well in the "teaching business." Besides giving instruction I have an excellent chance to study. Went to Mr. Wheat<sup>141</sup> to night to see him about going to Montgomery.

July 13—Saturday

Went by public conveyance to Montg to day after some medicine for Mr. Wheat as he has several negroes sick; got back to night. The trip was a pleasant one.

July 14—Sunday

Went to La Place & heard Wilson<sup>142</sup> preach. Bro Elias<sup>143</sup> went with me. Dined at Mr. Trimble's had a good time with Miss Mollie & Miss Mat Peters.<sup>144</sup> Had there some nice watermelons and peaches.

July 15—Monday

We have some very nice apples & pears. Walked about this

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<sup>140</sup>These would be *John Wesley Story* and three of the four younger sisters: Frances Elizabeth, Mary Taylor, Emily Catherine, and Julia Owen. Julia was only three years old, so may have been considered a trifle young for school.

<sup>141</sup>The Macon County Census for 1860 lists *M. M. Wheat*, a farmer aged forty-eight, with post office at Auburn.

<sup>142</sup>*Lawrence M. Wilson* was assigned to Tuskegee Circuit by the Conference of 1860.

<sup>143</sup>*Elias Wells Story, II*, second son of E. W. and Ann (Hill) Story, was born April 18, 1835. He married Mrs. Betty Jane (Hooks) Harris December 8, 1868.

<sup>144</sup>The Census for 1860 lists *Moses Trimble*, born in Georgia, aged forty three, and his wife, Susan. Mathias Peters, aged sixty, also born in Georgia, had daughters Mary Ann aged twenty and Martha A. aged nineteen.



evening after I dismissed my school to look at the crop, it looks more flourishing every day.

July 16—Tuesday

Capt Bradford<sup>145</sup> of Va is here raising recruits for his army at Richmond. No news of much importance has come today, though I hear that we have been defeated.

July 17—Wednesday

After I dismissed my school rode to the post office through a light-but steady rain, purchased a pair of shoes from Griffin.

July 18—Thursday

Had some company to day, that of Mrs. Trimble & Miss Mat Peters. Mrs. & Mrs. John Patterson. We are having a steady and good rain. Walked over the corn crop with John.

July 19—Friday

Heard that a battle had occurred near Winchester<sup>146</sup> in which we were victorious. No other news of much importance has come.

July 20—Saturday

Went to Cotton Valley this morning. On the way got some watermelon at G.T. Menefees.<sup>147</sup> Spent the day mostly with

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<sup>145</sup>I have no positive identification for this recruiting officer. The Twelfth Alabama was organized at Richmond in July, 1861, and the captain of the Coosa company was Joseph H. Bradford. W. Brewer, *Alabama*, 610.

<sup>146</sup>Winchester, Virginia, the county seat of Frederick County, was located about sixty-five miles northwest of Washington, D. C. and was an important strategic point during the war. In July, 1861, some nine thousand men under J. E. Johnston, including the Ninth Alabama Infantry, were at Winchester when he was ordered to join P. T. Beauregard at Manassas. Johnston made a feint against federal troops in the northern Shenandoah valley until they moved within twenty-two miles of Winchester when Johnston joined Beauregard on July 20. Local authority has it that Winchester was occupied or abandoned sixty-eight times by troops of both armies. On March 11, 1862, Johnston withdrew from the site and retired up the Shenandoah. *Encyclopedia Americana*, XXIX (1940).

<sup>147</sup>G. T. Menefee seems to be the name in the diary. The Census for the Southern Division of Macon County, lists F. T. Menefee, a lawyer, aged twenty-eight in 1860.

Bart, as he will start home to Miss next Tuesday. Had a fine rain P.M.

#### July 21—Sunday

Attended Sunday School & class meeting at Union Church to day. As a hard rain came after dinner, of course I took a fine nap.

#### July 22—Monday

Aunt Catherine & Sister Lou came this morning. I was proud to see them both, hadn't see Lou in 12 months. She has a fine looking 11 months old boy.

#### July 23—Tuesday

Mr Noston arrived to-day. Elias went to town-Tuskegee and brooght the news that a terrible battle at Manassas<sup>148</sup> had occurred. The loss not known. Bro George was in it.

#### July 24—Wednesday

In the battle that occurred at Manassas on 21st is confirmed. Of the Zouaves that left Tuskegee one (1) was killed and 15 or 16 wounded. The one killed was from Society Hill.

#### July 25—Thursday

Went to Cotton Valley this morning after Tax Book to write in. After noon, attended the examination of Mr. Granberry. At night attended exhibition. Saw my loved friend Aeneas Masters. We supped at Mr. Nicholson's.

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#### July 29—Monday

Having taken sick last Friday morning, have been unable to be up. Billious fever was the kind. This is the first spell of sickness I ever had. I am just able to be up.

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#### July 31—Wednesday

I am able to be up to day. Made me a desk to write "The Tax Book," and wrote a little.

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<sup>148</sup>Federal troops at Manassas seemed to have won the field on July 21, 1861, until reinforcements under Kirby Smith renewed force and moral and the Union troops retreated.

August 1—Thursday

Very warm to day.

August 2—Friday

I have been engaged writing to day. The work is very tedious. Had a very great storm of wind and hail.

August 3—Saturday

Rode up in La Place late this evening.

August 4—Sunday

Attended church at Union (Church), and heard Rev. John W. Rush<sup>149</sup> preach.

\* \* \* \* \*

August 11—Sunday

For the week past I have been very unwell, though able to be about only at times. My work is very tiresome (writing). Attended church today at Union. Heard——Wilson preach, which was very good. Rained every day last week.

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August 16—Friday

To day is the only day this week that we have not had rain. Went to meeting tonight and heard Mr. J Green<sup>150</sup> preach.

August 17—Saturday

I have been writing the tax book two weeks and have just finished, wrote upwards of thirty pages. My health has been very good all the week. Wrote a letter to Mr. Callaway.

August 18—Sunday

Attended meeting at Union Church. Heard Cooper Zachry<sup>151</sup> preach. The revival closed tonight.

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<sup>149</sup>*John Wesley Rush* (1833-1905), was the son of George Charles and Sarah (Norman) Walton Rush, early tenters at Tuskegee Camp-ground. The Conference of 1860 assigned John W. Rush to Tuskegee Female College. He married Octavia Osgood Andrew in Mobile in 1870. Rush wrote the obituary of Elias W. Story for the *Minutes of the Alabama Conference*, 1889. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, IV, 1576; West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 500.

<sup>150</sup>The Macon County Census for 1860 list Rev. John A. Green, a Georgia-born farmer, aged thirty-five.

<sup>151</sup>The Alabama Conference in 1861 assigned *Erwin Cooper Zachary* to Cerro Gordo.

August 19—Monday

As my work is finished, I have nothing to do but take vacation.

August 20—Tuesday

I have suffered some from the headache. Father went to town.

\* \* \* \* \*

August 24—Saturday

We have had more fair weather this week than in the three last. Much sickness is in our family, and has been ever since the rain. My diary seems rather blank, caused by illness. Worked on Tax book to day, but didn't finish.

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August 26—Monday

Bro Elias & I went to Tuskegee to day, carried Tax book of personal Property, it being unfinished, the court adjourned, we brought it back to complete it. Dined at Mr. T Smith. had the pleasure of seeing Miss Nellie.

August 27—Tuesday

Heard that J Newton Roberts was dead, who left last Spring in Swanson's<sup>152</sup> Company. He is to be brought home soon as possible and buried. He died of typhoid Fever.

August 28—Wednesday

John U. Hoffman & family will spend the night with us.

August 29—Thursday

J U Hoffman & family, after spending last night with us and part of the day, left this evening. A large shower of rain fell this evening.

August 30—Friday

After having been engaged the three days past writing for Freeman, carried his book back to day. We are having some very pretty weather.

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<sup>152</sup>W. G. Swanson was captain of the Macon County company of the Third Alabama Regiment of Infantry organized at Montgomery in April, 1861. He became colonel of the Sixty-first Alabama Infantry, organized at Pollard in September, 1863. Brewer, *Alabama*, 593, 673. The Census of 1860 lists Dr. W. F. Swanson, a Georgia-born farmer aged forty-four with real property valued at \$35,000 and personal property worth \$50,000.

## August 31—Saturday

Newton Roberts was buried at home to day. Went to town again to day to attend to some little matters. There will be no Circuit Court there this year. Heard that Ft Hatteras<sup>153</sup> in N.C. was taken with all of our men but ten.

## September 1—Sunday

I have been in the bed most all day, occasioned by a fever which came on yesterday evening. No preaching in the community to day—on account of the Warrior Stand Camp Meeting.

## September 1—Monday

Feel much better today, though very weak. Bro E.W. has a very high fever this evening.

## September 3—Tuesday

We have very pretty weather. Cotton opens pretty, but crops very poor on account of so much rain. Corn crops best we ever had.

## September 4—Wednesday

I am recruiting considerably though Bro Elias is very sick indeed with Billious fever. Dr. Ted Williams<sup>154</sup> is his physician, who is a very good one.

## September 5—Thursday

Went to Cowles Station this morning after some ice for Mrs Wheat, who is very sick. 3 or 4 of our family are now sick. Bro E is better. I am sitting up with him to-night.

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<sup>153</sup>Defenses at Hatteras inlet and on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, about three-fourths of a mile apart were called Fort Hatteras and Fort Clark. A combined army and navy expedition under B. F. Butler and S. H. Stringham reached the inlet on August 26, 1861. The next day the Union troops were landed and a bombardment was begun. The forts and guns were battered to pieces on August 28. The Confederacy lost 670 men, 1,000 stand of arms, 35 cannon, 2 forts, and the best sea entrance to the inland waters of North Carolina. C. A. Evans (ed.), *Confederate Military History*, IV, 25-28.

<sup>154</sup>Dr. Ted W. Williams was born in South Carolina. In 1860 he was twenty-eight years of age, with real property valued at \$5,000 and personal property worth \$12,000.

## September 6—Friday

Drs. Williams & Haden<sup>155</sup> called by to see Elias to day, he is much better. A hard shower of rain visited us to day.

## September 7—Saturday

I have kept myself closed up to day from the rain, as I have not been perfectly well in a week. Mrs Wilson (preachers wife) dined with us to day.

## September 8—Sunday

Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from Bro George (Penciled at top of entry). Went to La Place to church, heard Mr Wilson preach. dined at Mr. Nicholson's was entertained most all the evening by one of my best friends Mrs R.A. Nicholson, the principal topic of our conversation was religion.

## September 8—Monday

Wrote a letter to Bro George at Manassas Junction, Va. 4th Regt. Ala. Volunteers.<sup>156</sup>

## September 10—Tuesday

Been engaged writing little to day & doing nothing. Sun's tolerably warm, cotton opening fine.

## September 11—Wednesday

Went to town (Tuskegee) with Bro Elias to day, came back late in the evening.

## September 12—Thursday

Went to John U Hoffman's principally to see Sister Fannie, who is there with the fever. She is better.

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<sup>155</sup>I have not been able to identify *Dr. Haden*. Joseph Thomas Haden (1818-1877) was a planter and pioneer of La Place. He married in 1846. G. W. Haden, a farmer, was also listed for Marion County in 1860.

<sup>156</sup>The Fourth Alabama Infantry was organized at Dalton, Georgia on May 2, 1861 and was mustered into service for twelve months at Lynchburg on May 7. It was at Harper's Ferry and Winchester before serving in B. E. Bee's Brigade at Manassas, where it lost 38 killed and 208 wounded. T. B. Dryer was the first captain of the Macon company. Brewer, *Alabama*, 594-595.



September 13—Friday

Felt rather unwell to day, and took some calomel.

September 14—Saturday

Feel better since my medicine operated, though not well.

September 15—Sunday

Stayed at home, and read the Newspapers & my Bible, as I was too unwell to leave.

\* \* \* \* \*

September 24—Tuesday

I am just able to be up to day. I have [had] four hard chills, one each day, for the last four days. I am more debilitated than ever before. I have not been well in two weeks.

September 25—Wednesday

To day was my time set apart to start to College, but money is so scarce that I could not procure any. It grieves me very much now, for I will get behind my class. Went to Cotton Valley.

September 26—Thursday

Stayed in my room close today, being unable to stir about. I have purchased a box of Gallagan's Pill to sure the chills & fever.

September 27—Friday

Employed myself mostly to day reading Plutarch Lives. The wind blows very hard.

September 28—Saturday

No news of any importance has arrived during the last few days.

September 29—Sunday

Feeling little unwell and effected smartly by the Blues. Stayed home all day. Mrs Nicholson & Miss Mollie Trimble were at our house this evening.

September 30—Monday

Nothing of importance occurred to day.

### October 1—Tuesday

As I have been sick off and on for three months, I am now getting well, having been taking a box of Gallagans Pills. They are the best I have tried.

### October 2—Wednesday

Went to Tuskegee with Brother Elias and made preparations to start to Greensboro.

### October 3—Thursday

Started to Greensboro this morning. Having been carried to depot by Bro John, took 11 o'clock train to Montg. Took the Taney at Montg traveled all night.

### October 4—Friday

Arrived in Selma this morning 7-2 o'clock, took train to Newbern at 4, but with much difficulty arrived late. Staged to Greensboro, arrived at 12 P.M. lodged at Christians Hotel.

### October 5—Saturday

Rose early this morning and breakfasted at Mr. Ramsey's. Went to Mr Callaway's and obtained board, found Bart here, and 26 other students Everything looks natural about here.

### October 6—Sunday

Joined Prof Casey's Greek Testament Class in Sunday School. Heard Dr Wightman preach at 11 o'clock. Rain this evening.

### October 7—Monday

Went up to University to day and entered the Junior & Intermediate classes. There are 28 students. Very good for these war times.

### October 8—Tuesday

Schedule of my Recitations Junior Greek. Mon, Wednes. Friday 11 o'clock A.M. Junior Mathematics, Mon, Tues. Wed-Thurs. Friday 2½ P.M. Intermediate Latin, Mon, Wednes-Friday 9 A.M. Intermediate Moral Philosophy, Tues, Thurs, Sat 8 A.M.

## October 10—Thursday

Since I have regularly entered College, I am doing tolerably well. My determination is to try to study much more than last session. My health is very good now.

## October 11—Friday

A regular Military Company has been organized at the College. Prof Gatch instructor. the uniform has not yet been adopted. He is sick to day, De Yampert<sup>157</sup> of Mobile came to day to college.

## October 12—Saturday

Recited our lessons, and went to our Society Hall, & had a very interesting meeting. Avery & Starr<sup>158</sup> joined to day.

## October 13—Sunday

Heard Mr. Ramsey preach at 11 A.M. & 7 P.M. This evening 8 young men of the Univ formed a class meeting in the College Chapel to meet every Sabbath evening. Crews is to conduct it.

## October 14—Monday

The Southern University has now 33 students, since Messrs Densler & Harland<sup>159</sup> have come since Friday night last.

## October 15—Tuesday

After the regular exercises of the College were over this evening, went out chestnut hunting and obtained a nice supply.

## October 16—Wednesday

Feeling rather unwell this morning, came home from College, went to bed but my case came to be at last that of a fever.

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<sup>157</sup>*John Marshall deYampert* of Marion enrolled in 1861. This may be a slip of Story's pen, or young deYampert may have been located for a time in Mobile.

<sup>158</sup>*Robert W. Avery* of Greensboro and *E. S. Starr* from Six Mile enrolled as students in 1861. *Wilbur Fisk Starr* had been a student from Summerfield in 1860.

<sup>159</sup>*T. A. Densler* seems to be back in school. *John H. Harland* was a new student from Macon, Mississippi.

## October 18—Friday

The ——— above was caused by sickness. Though I am up, but feel weak. Walked out to the College with C.C. Ellis, who is now with us for a short while.

## October 19—Saturday

Feel much better to day. Was able to go up to Society meeting this morning. Mr. Oaks<sup>100</sup> joined Society to day.

## October 20—Sunday

Heard Rev. C.C. Calloway preach a very good sermon at 11 A.M. Did not go to night to church on account of its being to wet for me, caused by the rain to day.

## October 21—Monday

Nothing of much importance has occurred to day, only I had a few hrs chat with Miss Sallie Walton<sup>101</sup> to night.

## October 22—Tuesday

I am improving very much, ann think that I shall be restored to my usual state of health. Had no chill this week.

## October 23—Wednesday

The 2<sup>d</sup> anniversay of the Clariosophic Society took place to day. H.B. Magruder spoke, the attendance was very small.

## October 24—Thursday

According to a new Rule, the Faculty have decided to have prayer every evening in the Chapel. This is a very good plan.

## October 25—Friday

Speaking in the College Chapel this evening. Our set of speakers are poor this year compared with that of last.

## October 26—Saturday

Had a very interesting meeting in Society to day. Made preparations for building new rostrum and other things.

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<sup>100</sup>Jonas Oaks, son of Jason Oaks, a gunmaker of Greensboro, matriculated in 1861. The Census of 1860 had listed Jonas Oaks as a printer, aged sixteen.

<sup>101</sup>Sally Walton, aged fourteen in 1860, was the daughter of John W. Walton.

## October 27—Sunday

Mr. Ramsey preached at 11 o'clock. On account of Kerosine Oil<sup>102</sup> being scarce, we have preaching at 4 P.M. Prof Wills preached this evening.

\* \* \* \* \*

## October 29—Tuesday

Had some frost this morning. Weather very pleasant. Went off to my pleasant grove this evening to practice my speech.

\* \* \* \* \*

## November 1—Friday

Having been chosen last Friday as a speaker for to day, I spoke this evening the Eulogy on H. Clay by Presley Ewing<sup>103</sup> of Ky.

## November 2—Saturday

Had no Society meeting to day in consequence of the Rostrum not being done.

## November 3—Sunday

Dr. Wightman preached at 11 o'clock A.M. Sacrament was administered of which I pertook. Dr. Wadsworth this evening.

\* \* \* \* \*

## November 15—Friday

By the proclamation of Pres. Davis we are fasting to day.<sup>104</sup> Rec<sup>d</sup> letter from Father containing the very lamentable news

<sup>102</sup>Kerosene was not the only shortage. The school was without funds. Professors' salaries, originally fixed at \$2,500, were cut in half and they were permitted to seek other work. During the session of 1861/62 only \$1,150 was paid the entire faculty, "and they were praised for standing by the University under the circumstances." Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 86.

<sup>103</sup>Presley Underwood Ewing (1822-1854) was born in Russellville, Kentucky, on September 1, 1822. He graduated from Centre College at Danville in 1840 and from the Law School of Transylvania University in 1843. In 1851 he was elected as a Whig representative to the United States Congress and served until his death in the town of Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, September 27, 1854. *Biographical Encyclopedia of Kentucky* (1878), 377.

<sup>104</sup>By proclamation of October 31, 1861, President Davis set November 15, 1861, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer that "He may give us victory over our enemies, preserve our homes and altars from pollution, and secure to us the restoration of peace and prosperity." Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 135.

of my Sister Lou's Death. I am sad—worn down, to think I shall never behold her again. But she has a happy home in Heaven. She was the wife of Rev. E.B. Norton.

\* \* \* \* \*

November 21—Thursday

A runaway couple visited us to day,—they were married by Mr. Calloway. Mr. May<sup>106</sup> of Tuscaloosa & Miss Tindell were the match. They were on their way to Tuscaloosa.

\* \* \* \* \*

November 24—Sunday

As I had a chill yesterday, staid home to day, and missed hearing Dr Wightman preach. Received a letter from Aeneas Masters—a friend.

\* \* \* \* \*

November 27—Wednesday

Had a very hard chill Monday, and felt too bad yesterday to get out of the bed. My health is not very good.

November 28—Thursday

On account of the bad health of me and Charley Ellis, we got a buggy in the afternoon and went out in the country 6 miles from here, to Mr. W.G. Sadler. I was much pleased with Mr. & Mrs. Sadler.

November 29—Friday

Left Mr. Sadler's at 2 o'clock P.M. Got caught in the rain but arrived here before dark. I am very much pleased with the Trip; it helped me much. Ellis will remain there a week.

November 30—Saturday

At the meeting of the Belles Lettres Society, I was elected as Speaker on the 22<sup>d</sup> of Feb.

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<sup>105</sup>*Lou Story* and her sister *Sarah* married *Rev. Ethelbert B. Norton* and *Wilbur F. Perry* in a double wedding performed by *Rev. F. G. Ferguson* in August, 1859. Mrs. Norton left two sons, John and William.

<sup>106</sup>One of the founders of Belles Lettres was a "Mr. May." Mr. Callaway's performance of the marriage services causes speculation as to whether this was a return of one of the "old boys."



## December 1—Sunday

Heard Rev Jos J. Hutchinson preach from 3 ver 42 Psalm. Buried at the graveyard north of town, by the citizens this evening, Mr. Witherspoon.<sup>167</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

## December 6—Friday

Two preachers arrived to night. Messrs Dennis<sup>168</sup> & E.B. Norton. I went to Mr. N's room tonight and sat a while. His health is very good.

## December 7—Saturday

This [evening] Mr Norton, Bart and I walked up to College, Graveyard &c. I went with him to his room at Mr. John Kennedy's and supped with him. He read me his sermon for Conference. Several preachers came in to night.

## December 8—Sunday

Heard Rev Mr Moore<sup>169</sup> of Memphis Tenn preach at 11 o'clock Rev Mr Ross<sup>170</sup> of Mobile District at night. Mr. Norton went out with Rev Mr DuBois<sup>171</sup> to preach to day.

## December 9—Monday

The Conference has not convened yet but several preachers have arrived. Mr Barker<sup>172</sup> preached to night.

<sup>167</sup>This may have been *Rev. Sydenham Witherspoon*, early settler, or *Rev. T. R. Witherspoon*, Presbyterian Minister at Greensboro, 1837-1843. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 104, 186.

<sup>168</sup>*Wesley B. Dennis* was sent by the Conference to Spring Hill in Demopolis District.

<sup>169</sup>I cannot locate any Rev. Moore at Memphis. The Memphis Conference of November, 1861, had assigned Smith W. Moore to Hernando Station.

<sup>170</sup>*Rev. B. B. Ross* was presiding elder of the Mobile District.

<sup>171</sup>*Rev. John Dubois*, identified by Yerby as the first manufacturer of cotton gins, was a working member of the Methodist Church in Alabama for sixty years. The Conference of 1860 assigned him to Greensboro Colored Mission. He died January 21, 1884, at the age of eighty-seven. Yerby, *History of Greensboro*, 186; West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 559.

<sup>172</sup>*Rev. Josiah Barker* was presiding elder of the Demopolis District.

## December 10—Tuesday

Drs Sassnett,<sup>173</sup> Ellison<sup>174</sup> and several others arrived to night. Bishop Early<sup>175</sup> came to day.

## December 11—Wednesday

The Conference opened this morning though I was not present at the time but soon after. The Trustees of the College have given us holliday during Conference. Mr. Lynch<sup>170</sup> preached to night.

## December 12—Thursday

Attended Conference to day. Heard Rev. Mr Cooper<sup>177</sup> preach this evening at 3 o'clock P.M. Rev J. Mathews<sup>178</sup> at night. Accompanied Miss Sallie Kennedy to church to night.

\* \* \* \* \*

## December 14—Saturday

I had a chill to day.

<sup>173</sup>*William Jeremiah Sassnet*, born April 29, 1820, was a member of the first graduating class of Oglethorpe University. He was admitted on trial to the Georgia Conference in 1841. His book called *Progress* was published at Nashville in 1855. Sassnet was professor at Emory University and president of LaGrange (Georgia) Female College before he became president of East Alabama Male College, where he served until his death on November 3, 1865. Tankersley, *College Life at Old Oglethorpe*, 65; West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 738.

<sup>174</sup>*William Holmes Ellison* (born 1805), was sent by the Conference to Glenville in Eufaula District.

<sup>175</sup>*John Early* was born in Bedford County, Virginia, on January 1, 1786. He joined the Methodist Church in 1804 and served as president of a colonization society or transporting Negroes back to Africa. After an active part in the General Methodist Conference in 1844, he served as president of the first Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He was head of the Book Agency until he was made bishop in 1854. He was superannuated in 1866 and died in 1873. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V (1943).

<sup>170</sup>*Rev. Thomas M. Lynch* was assigned by the Conference to Prattville in Summerfield District.

<sup>177</sup>*Rev. Napoleon Bonaparte Cooper* was located at Autauga in 1860 and was assigned by the Conference of 1861 to Perryville in Summerfield District.

<sup>178</sup>This may be *Rev. John Mathews*, listed in the Macon County Census for 1860 as a native of Pennsylvania, aged thirty-six.

December 15—Sunday

Heard P.P. Neely<sup>170</sup> preach at 11, and part of Bishop Earley's sermon. Heard Dr Lovic Pierce<sup>180</sup> at 3, and Dr. Sasnett at night. Saw the Deacons ordained at 11, and Elders at 3 o'clock.

\* \* \* \* \*

December 19—Thursday

My health for the last few days has been bad. The appointments of the preachers were read out this evening and most all of them left to night.

\* \* \* \* \*

December 24—Tuesday

As my health is bad, I have not been to College since conference, nor will not, until next week.

December 25—Wednesday

Christmas Day. [In heavy black script, much larger than his usual writing]

Poorest Christmas I ever saw, only with the negroes. I havn't heard a gun fire. I spent it strolling about town.

December 26—Thursday

Received a letter from Father to night, containing \$25 from Mr. Freeman. I was mighty glad to get it.

\* \* \* \* \*

December 29—Sunday

Heard Dr Wadsworth preach at 11 o'clock & Prof Wills at 3.

<sup>170</sup>*Philip Phillips Neeley*, minister at Columbus in 1860, was a member of the Book and Tract Society of the Alabama Conference and one of the Trustees of Southern University. At the 1860 Conference held at Montgomery he attended political meetings and made speeches in favor of secession. According to one of his contemporaries he "had the soul of a poet and a voice melodious as a flute." West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, 707; Fitzgerald, *Dr. Summers*, 179.

<sup>180</sup>*Dr. Lovic Pierce*, son of Philip and Lydia Pierce and born in North Carolina in 1785, was famous for the eloquence of his sermons. He was the father of Bishop George F. Pierce. See George G. Smith, *The Life and Times of George Foster Pierce* (1888).

MISCELLANEOUS<sup>181</sup>

This diary commences Friday Jan 11th 1861. A regret of not recording the many incidents which happened beforehand, has to some extent caused regret on my part. My health is very good, which has always been my good fortune.

## CASH ACCOUNT

January		Paid	Recd
15	Pelligrany	.20	
15	Palmer	.50	
15	Hatch	2.14	
16	Hamilton	1.00	
8	Stollenwerck	1.35	
23	Stollenwerck	.10	
22	Pelligrany	.10	

## BILLS PAYABLE—JANUARY

Name	Due
Indebtedness	
Lawson	.50
Hatch	1.25
Hamilton	2.00
Russell	2.50

## BILLS PAYABLE—FEBRUARY

Hamilton	6.00
Hatch	1.75
Shackleford	1.85
Russell	2.50
Lawson	.75
Kohner	1.50

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<sup>181</sup>These statistics would not mark Story as a "heavy spender." *William M. Palmer* was the Greensboro postmaster in 1861, and Jimmy certainly bought stamps. *Jack Shackelford* and *Herman Kohner* are identified in the census as "merchants." *James M. Hatch* and *Alphonse Stollenwerck* were both druggists. *Russell* dealt in books, and *Louis Lawson*, born in Sweden, was the local candy merchant.

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